Kerala Society Papers

SERIES 6

PUBLISHED
BY
The Kerala Society

TRIVANDRUM
1930

CITY PRESS, TRIVANDRUM

Price Rs. 2] [Foreign: 3 s.

P
81

MADRAS RECORD OFFICE
14 JUL 1932

Kerala Society Papers, Series 6.

CONTENTS

1. St. Thomas and His Feasts. - - - - - - 287 — 302
— F. C. Burkitt, D. D.
2. Some Remarks on Series 4 of K. S. P. - - - . 303, 304
— The Rev. G. Schurhammer, S. J.
3. Letters of Joao da Cruz, a Nair Ambassador, *ca.* 1515—37 A. D. - 304 — 307
— The Rev. G. Schurhammer, S. J.
4. Gonsalvez: Manuscript *History of Malabar*, 1615 A. D. - - 307, 308
— The Rev. G. Schurhammer, S. J.
5. A Palm-leaf Manuscript of 448 M. E. - - - - 309 — 312
— S. Desivinayagam Pillai.
6. Ancient Forts at Kalkulam and Udayagiri - - - 313 — 316
— S. Desivinayagam Pillai.
7. A Tradition from Valliyur - - - - - 316 — 318
— S. Desivinayagam Pillai.
8. Relation between Kashmir and Kerala - - - - 319
— Pandit S. Anand Koul.
9. Notes on the Pahlavi, Kufic and Hebrew Signatures to the Quilon Plates 320 — 323
— C. P. T. Winckworth and F. C. Burkitt.
10. Nepal and Kerala - - - - - - 323
— T. K. Joseph, B. A., L. T.
11. The Kerala Mamankam - - - - - 324 — 330
— K. V. Krishna Aiyar, M. A., L. T.
12. Pallivanavar in Kiliroor - - - - - 331, 332
— Vidwan P. K. Padmanabha Panikkar.
13. A Vatteluttu Ola 301 Years Old - - - - 332, 352
— T. K. Joseph, B. A., L. T.
14. Some Travancore Dynastic Records (Third Series) - - - 333 — 352
— M. Rajaraja Varma Raja, M. A., B. L.

LIST OF PLATES

1. Palm-leaf MS. of 448 M. E. (1273 A. D.) - - - - 309
2. Pahlavi, Kufic & Hebrew Signatures, *ca.* 880 A. D. - - 322

Kerala Society Papers.

SERIES 6.

St. Thomas and his Feasts.

(By F. C. Burkitt, D. D.)

THE Christian Kalendar was originally very simple. One of the earliest we know is that set forth in the ancient Syriac work known as "The Doctrine of the Apostles," as edited by Cureton in *Ancient Syriac Documents* (London, 1864, pp. 25-30.)[1] This work must have been composed at Edessa (Urfa in Northern Mesopotamia), the oldest seat of Syriac-speaking Christianity, and may be safely dated in the 3rd century A.D. The services appointed are :—Eucharist and 'service' on Sundays, 'service' on Wednesdays and on Friday afternoons, also observance of Epiphany (Jan. 6), 40 days' Fast before Good Friday, observance of Easter day and of the Ascension (*sic*) 50 days after Easter, i.e. what we call Pentecost. Further it is said (Canon 18), that all who depart out of this world as Martyrs should be commemorated on the day when they were put to death.

This is the general principle out of which the Kalendars used by various Churches have grown up, but as there was no certain tradition on what days many of the most ancient saints were martyred the dates of commemoration differ from place to place, and particularly between the various separated branches of Christians.

1. This "Doctrine of the Apostles" is also called the Edessene Canons, and the Canons of Addai: it is quite different from the Didache and the Didascalia. —F. C. B.

It may also be convenient to remind my readers that the Syriac-speaking Church has, since the 6th century, been divided into Nestorians and Jacobites. The Nestorians have been separated from the rest of the Christian Church since about 489 A.D. : some of them, during the last 200 years, have become united to Rome under a Patriarch, and are called Chaldeans. The Christians found in India by the Portuguese about 1600 A. D. were Nestorians and had received their Orders from a Nestorian Catholicus, whatever had been the origin of their Church in a far-distant past. The Jacobites are Monophysites : they also are heretical from the Roman or Greek point of view, but their separation from the Orthodox Greek Church was later (about 532 A. D.), and their ritual usages are on the whole nearer to those of the Greeks than are those of the Nestorians.

The Jacobite Kalendars have been very throughly studied by Professor Nau in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. X, part I, from which work many of the references below to MSS. are taken.

St. Thomas is commemorated on the following days :—

(1) *December 21*. This has been the usage in the West from the 4th century. It is given as the day of Thomas's martyrdom in the Hieronymian Martyrology. We do

not in the least know what led to the choice of this particular day: there is nothing in the Thomas-legend itself to indicate at what time of year the Saint was killed. Neither the Greek Church, nor any branch of the Syriac-speaking Church, commemorates St. Thomas on December 21. except so far as it may have been introduced in quite modern times under modern Roman influence.

(2) *September 10.* There is a commemoration of St. Thomas on this day according to two late MSS. (*Nau* VI), which reflect the use of the Jacobites of Aleppo. These same MSS. also recognise the commemoration on July 3.

(3) *September 17.* A commemoration of St. Thomas and Andrew for this day is noted in B. M. Add. 14504 (*Nau* III), as well as July 3.

(4) *October 6.* This is the commemoration of St. Thomas in the Greek Church. From the Greeks the observance of this day passed to the Abyssinians, and also to the (later) form of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary. It occurs in one Syriac MS. (B. M. Add..17232, dated 1210 A.D.), together with the usual July 3.

(5) *August 24 or 23.* This is the commemoration of St. Thomas according to Conybeare's Old Armenian Lectionary (*Rituale Armenorum*, pp. 526, 531): possibly therefore this was the date of St. Thomas's feast in the ancient use of Jerusalem, from which this Armenian Lectionary is generally derived.

(6) *New Sunday*, i. e. the Sunday after Easter. This occurs in several MSS, and is obviously connected with the story told in John xx 24—29: it is not a regular "Feast of St. Thomas" but a commemoration of events connected with the day[2].

(7) *July 3.* This is the usual, almost universal, commemoration of St. Thomas both among Nestorians and Jacobites. It is attested by all Prof. Nau's Jacobite Kalendars and by all the Nestorian Kalendars. In most of the Syriac authorities July 3 is the only commemoration of the Saint.

It should be remarked that the Syriac months keep their old Semitic names, derived ultimately from Babylon, but the length and beginnings of months had been equated to the months of the Roman (Julian) year as early as the 4th century. The year begins with October, called First Tishrin, and the 10th month, *i.e.* July, is called Tamuz or Tammuz, sometimes spelt Tommus by Malabar writers. This name has nothing to do with *Toma* (= Thomas), but is derived from Babylonian mythology (See Ezekiel viii 14).

What event, then, was commemorated by the Syriac-speaking Churches on July 3? Roman Catholic writers tell us that it is the arrival of the bones of St. Thomas, or of some of them, atEdessa. This opinion is indeed 'traditional'in the West: on investigation this means that the Hieronymian Martyrology says so.

The Hieronymian Martyrology is an uncritical compilation[3] from various sources, but the notice about July 3 seems to go back to the earliest forms, and therefore may be referred to the end of the 4th century, by which time the commemoration of St. Thomas on December 21 was no doubt already estabilished in the West. On the other hand we know from St. Ephraim, commonly called

2. The incident was commemorated at Jerusalem when Etheria was there (A. D. 383).—F .C. B.

3 See extracts *infra* (App. II) from Rev. Fr. Zimmerman's letter, and App. III. —T. K. J.

Efrem Syrus, who died in 373, that the reputed bones of St. Thomas, or some of them, had long ago been brought to Edessa and that the people of Edessa were very proud of their precious possession[4] No doubt, therefore, an annual Feast of St. Thomas was already celebrated there by the middle of the 4th century, and as there is no hint in any Syriac document of any change in this celebration it is almost certain that it took place on the 3rd of Tamuz, i. e. July 3 (Old Style). The statement in the Hieronymian Martyrology that July 3 was the commemoration of the bringing of St. Thomas's bones to Edessa seems to me merely harmonistic. The compiler of the Martyrology knew that the commemoration of St. Thomas in the West was on December 21, but the Feast of St. Thomas kept at Edessa on July 3 was too well known and important to be ignored, so he assumed that this Edessan feast commemorated the arrival of the Apostle's bones at Edessa.

But what do the Syriac-speaking Churches themselves say about this? Some idea may be gathered from the actual Hymns and other liturgical pieces chanted on July 3. These, so far as I know, are not published, but I have looked through a good many ancient MSS. at the British Museum and in Cambridge. The results are tabulated below:-

(1) Jacobite MSS.

B.M. Add. 14504. This MS, of the 9th cent., is specially valuable as the Kalendar contained in it notices the commemorations of twenty bishops of Edessa: no doubt it attests the custom of Edessa itself in the 8th century. The only definite allusions to St. Thomas are a play on the words *Tehoma* 'ocean-flood' and *Te'oma* 'Thomas' (see Wright's *Acts of Thomas*, p. 170), also a mention of the fact that Thomas was sent to India, and of John XX.

B. M. Add. 14505, 10th cent., and Add. 14519, 11th or 12th cent., say just the same.

B. M. Add. 14514 and 14522, both of the 9th cent., only refer to the story in John XX.

B.M. Add. 14696, 13th cent., has more explicit references to the tales in the *Acts of Thomas*, including the Palace built by Thomas, the name of Habban the merchant who bought Thomas as a slave, the tale of the man who was killed by a lion after insulting the Apostle, and the phrase 'bridal chamber of light' (see Wright's *Acts of Thomas*, p. 156).

B.M. Add. 14503, 10th or 11th cent., refers to John xx, and tells us that Thomas was sold to the Indian King; also that Peter, Paul, and Thomas are foundation stones. B. M. Add. 17216, 11th cent.. has all this and says in addition that "helps flow from their bones and they have become strong walls for Holy Church from end to end of the earth." B.M. Add. 14697, in addition to the play on the name *tehoma*, and that Thomas was sold to go to India and killed with a spear, says "a wall outside the wall is Thomas the Apostle to the believing city Edessa."

Thus out of nine MSS. only one, and that one of the latest, even mentions that the bones of Thomas are preserved at Edessa. If this festival primarily commemorated the arrival of the venerated bones I venture to think there would have been more and earlier mention of them in these service books.

(2) Nestorian MSS.

For the regular Festival Service-book (the *Hudhra*) I use Camb. Univ. Libr. 1981. The

4. See *Carmina Nisibena* 42: it does not appear from Ephraim how long the bones had been in Edessa. —F. C. B.

Hymns for July 3 mention India, Thomas's death by a spear, and that he "bore the weight of the day and its heat" (Matt. xx 12, also *Acts of Thomas*, p. 199): further, "come, all nations, celebrate his commemoration-day, for he is a wall to our nation that is not to be overcome. "Then the service passes to a commemoration of Mar Mari, the apostle of Ctesiphon-Seleucia, then we return, into references to the *Acts of Thomas*, including the conversion of the bridal pair, the building of the Palace, together with references to John xi and xx.

Other Nestorian MSS. are Camb. W. L. 2820 (Thomas at the marriage-supper, the rude water-carrier killed by a lion, the Hebrew girl = *Thomas*, p. 150 ff.); Camb. W.L. 1977 (John, xi and xx, Thomas goes to India as a carpenter for King Coundaphar and converts 'Cyrus'). Cyrus, *Koresh*, is the form of the name *Karish* or *Charisius*, found in the Nestorian recension of the *Acts of Thomas* (*C. U. L.* 2822).

Finally, in Oo I 13, a MS. at Cambridge written in a Jacobite hand but comig from Southern India, we have references to John xx, to the king of India who sent Habban the carpenter to bring a workman to build him a Palace, to the water-carrier killed by a lion and the Hebrew Singer who broke her flutes. It adds "Let us not be deprived of the helps secured by the treasure of thy bones, O Blessed one, in the day of Thy Feast." This MS. is further remarkable for making St. Thomas the twin not (as in the *Acts of Thomas*) of our Lord, but of Addai the apostle of Edessa.

Thus all the evidence is of much the same nature. If we leave out of account the Hieronymian Martyrology and the Western documents that depend on it, and consider only the evidence derived from Syriac sources it would not be doubted that the Feast of 3 Tamuz (3 July, Old Style) was the annual commemoration of St. Thomas, and therefore, like almost all other annual commemorations of Martyrs, the day of his reputed death. In such a commemoration every kind of allusion to the Saint's career is appropriate, including the disposition of his relics. It had been asserted in Edessa since the middle of the 4th century, and it was not denied elsewhere, that some of St. Thomas's bones were kept at Edessa, but it is to be noticed that out of over a dozen MSS. cited only one (B. M. Add. 14697) mentions this fact, and that quite incidentally. The evidence of the Syriac Service-Books, therefore, does not suggest that those who kept the Feast of July 3 imagined that they were commemorating the arrival of St. Thomas's bones in Edessa and not the martyrdom itself.

All this is by way of demonstrating what the Syriac tradition is. If we go further, and ask what scientific historical account can be given of the origin of the different dates, Dec. 21, Oct. 6, July 3, for the Feast of St. Thomas, we must confess to being in a region where there is nothing to go upon but unverifiable conjecture. And if I go on to make some of my own, my readers must remember that I start with fixed opinions based on general ideas about the history and literature of early Christianity. I doubt very much whether any church had any authentic tradition of the Kalendar dates of the martyrdoms or deaths of first century Christians. Why, even the year, and therefore the Kalendar date, of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ is a matter of doubt! I believe myself that Roman Christians never lost the memory of the fact that both St. Peter and St. Paul were martyred at Rome, but the day on which they are commemorated, June 29, appears to be the day on which their bodies

were reburied A. D. 258. At some date later than this, but earlier than the middle of the 4th century, annual commemorations for all the Twelve Apostles were distributed over the year on fixed Kalendar dates, determined on principles that cannot be now ascertained. December 21 for St. Thomas is one of this series: I should say it has no higher historical authority than the joint commemoration of Philip and James on May 1, or Simon and Jude on October 28.

Why October 6 was fixed on by the Greek Church for St. Thomas's day I do not know.

Similarly I do not know why the Church in Edessa, the Mother-church of Syriac-speaking Christianity, commemorated St. Thomas on July 3. The question is really bound up with the two others: why had the Church at Edessa a peculiar veneration[5] for St. Thomas? And, was this veneration the cause, or the result, of the book called "The Acts of Judas Thomas"? That the "Acts of Thomas" is a work originally composed in Syriac is certain. That it is mostly a work of imagination, based upon a minimum of sober history[6] seems to me equally certain. But conceivably the writing of the "Acts" was the result of Edessene reverence for the relics of a holy martyr named Thomas which had been long before 350 A. D.[7] brought to Edessa from 'India', and therefore possibly from South India. The *Acts of Thomas* mentions a King of Northern India, Gundaphar, but I regard that name as little a historical feature[8] in the life of the Apostle as that the Apostle was a twin of Jesus Christ (Wright, pp. 155, 170, 180). All that remains certain is that a travelling merchant brought to Edessa bones from 'India', which were believed to be those of Thomas the Apostle.

It is possible, after all, that July 3 was really the day on which these bones arrived[9]

5. May not the peculiar veneration which the Church at Edessa had for St. Thomas be due to the letter that St. Thomas sent from India, and was preserved and read in church services as stated in *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, perhaps of the second century A. D.? See Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 32. Dr. J. N. Farquhar holds that such a letter existed and was read in the Edessene Church. Cf. *The Apostle Thomas in North India*, Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, Manchester, 1926.—T. K. J.

6. This 'minimum of sober history' must have been obtained by the author of the extant romance that goes by the name of *The Acts of Judas Thomas*, of about 200 A. D., from the genuine *Acts* which according to Carl Schmidt had previously existed. See note 8 *infra*.—T. K. J.

7. Human bones, I think, crumble to dust in the wet earth of North-West India or South India in about 75 years. There is no reason to assume that means were adopted by those who buried the Saint to preserve his body or bones from decay, or that the Saint's bones turned into fossil by the time the merchant dug for them. He is believed to have actually found the Saint's bones. So he must have searched for them in about 100 A. D.—T. K. J.

8. The names of Gondophares and Guda, probably his brother, appear in *The Acts of Thomas* of about 200 A.D. as Gundaphar and Gad. These are names unknown to other ancient accounts so far discovered. I should think that these names occurred in the genuine *Acts* on which the *Acts* romance of about 200 A. D. was based. See note 6 *supra*. I am of opinion that Mazdai can be taken to be a modified form of Sanskrit Mahadeva, an old title of kings, that Sifur represents the first portion (Aspavar) of Aspavarman, *strategos* of Gondophares and that Quantaria of the Ethiopic version of the *Acts* can be identified with Kandahar (Arachosia). See my article 'St. Thomas in South India' in *Indian Antiquary*, 1926, pp. 222, 223. (See also *infra*, App. I.).—T. K. J.

9. Since I have assumed that the Edessene Church used to receive letters of its specially beloved Saint Thomas from "Maharaja Rajadhiraja" Gondophares's capital city Taxila, and also later from "Mahadeva" Mazdai's Satrapy, viz. 'Quantaria (Kandahar), civitate Satrapis,' I could legitimately suppose also that there were dates or other indications of time in St. Thomas's letters from the Gondophares-Mazdai region of India. From these as well as from information obtained from merchants returning from that region Edessa could ascertain the month and date (Tamuz 3) of the Apostle's martyrdom, and commemorate that event specially important to that Church, on 3rd Tamuz itself. The feast of translation also was celebrated perhaps on the same day, Tamuz 3.
—T. K. J.

at Edessa. Who knows ? The Roman, and now almost universal commemoration of St. Peter on June 29 would afford a near parallel. But if so, the fact does not seem to have been known to those who actually kept the Feast of July 3. The chief point of this paper is to present some of the evidence which shows that the Syriac-speaking Churches do not attest the theory of the origin of this commemoration which is put forward in the Hieronymian Martyrology.

Finally it may be remarked that Codex Fuldensis, the famous MS. of the Latin Diatessaron, written for and corrected by Victor, Bishop of Capua in 546 A. D. has a list of where the Apostles are buried. The entry for Thomas is

THOMAS-IN INDIA-CIVITATE IOTHABIS

The elucidation of this notice I leave to others, but it is so ancient that it ought not to be forgotten in discussions on this subject.

—F. C. B.

APPENDIX I.

In Civitate Iothabis.

(Note by T. K. Joseph.)

Assuming that the form IOTHABIS of 546 A. D. is the result of the accumulated mistakes of a succession of scribes and oral traditionists beginning from the first century, one may hold that Iothabis is a degenerated descendant of the genetive SATRAPIS, meaning 'of the Satrap' a term very much in vogue in the North and North-West of India in St. Thomas's and Gondopares's time as well as in earlier and later centuries. Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont, a Latin poet of the fifth century, uses the genetive form Satrapis (says Rev. Fr. Carmel, C. D., of Verapoly, Travancore). It existed earlier too.

The expression in civitate satrapis, i. e. in the city (or country) of the Satrap, may be taken to apply to the kingdom of Mazdai (of the *Acts*), who we may suppose was a Satrap (=Viceroy) under the Great King of Kings, Gondophares of Taxila to whom St. Thomas had gone before the Apostle went with Sifur, who may be the *Strategos* or Commander-in-Chief Aspavarman, to the city of King Mazdai, or "civitate Iothabis" (satrapis as the MS. of 546 A. D. says. (See also footnote 8 *supra*).

The Ethiopic version of *The Acts of Thomas* mentions Quantaria as the place of St. Thomas's martyrdom. This Quantaria, one may say, is perhaps Kandahar, i. e. old Arachosia, where there was a Satrap under Maharaja Rajadhiraja Gondophares, i. e. Great King of Kings, ruling from Taxila in N.-W. India in St. Thomas's time.

And this Satrap of Quantaria may be Mazdai of *The Acts*. It was Medlycott, I think, who first suggested that Mazdai might be a corrupt form of Mahadeva rather than of Vasudeva. Mahadeva was and is of course a synonym for god Siva. But in ancient India it was used as an honorific title for a king. For instance on a coin of the Audumbara king Dharaghosha of the Punjab, "whose reign must probably be assigned to the latter half of the first century B. C.", we see the legend *Mahadevasa rano Dharaghoshasa Odumbarisa*, i. e. as it were His Highness the Audumbara king Dharaghosha. (See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 529 and 539.) In the legends on Gondophares's coins he is called Maharaja Rajadhiraja, or Maharaja Gudaphara, i. e. Gondophares, Great King of Kings or Great King, both imitations of Persian or Parthian titles. See *ibid.*, plate VII. 32, VIII. 47, 51, and 53.

Gondophares had a *strategos* or Commander-in-Chief called Aspavaraman. Can-

not Sifur of *The Acts* be regarded as a corrupt form of Aspavar the first half of that name? This Aspavarman was an important personage, for we find his name along with that of Gondophares in a coin legend. (Cf. Lahore Museum Catalogue, p. 150, Plate XV, 35). In *The Acts* also Sifur the commander describes himself as an important personage in these words: "If thou (St. Thomas) wouldst receive a reward, I should have sent thee a sufficient sum of money and I had not come myself, since the king (Mazdai) does nothing without me. For my possession is great and I am rich, one of the wealthy in India."—Pick: *Apocryphal Acts*, Chicago, 1909, p. 280.—T. K. J.

APPENDIX II.

Rev. Fr. Benedict Zimmerman on the Feast of St. Thomas.

(FR. PETER VADACHERRY)

In acknowledgement of the receipt of my booklet on St. Thomas' Feast, Very Revd. Fr. Benedict Zimmerman, a distinguished Carmelite and a well known historical researcher in London writes to me among other things as follows:—

"In the first place may I say that in my opinion the appeal to the martyrologies will not help much. The martyrology was compiled about the middle of the sixth century by some unknow writer somewhere in France. Like many other works which proved useful it was speedily, but erroneously, attributed to St. Jerome. It underwent many changes, some good and some doubtful, at the hands of Venerable Bede, Florus, Ado. Usuard (and many others), and towards the end of the sixteenth century was, at the bidding of Gregory XIII. revised by Cardinal Baronius, and thus became the official Roman Martyrology. It is not to the detriment of Cardinal Baronius to say that though he did his work in a scholarly way, yet he had but a limited material to work upon. During the last three hundred and forty years science has not been at a standstill, and much material is now available which he could not possibly utilise.

Excellent work was done by the early Bollandists; in the last century the work was taken up anew by J. B. de Rossi, the explorer of the Roman Catacombs, and Mgr. Louis Duchesne; their object was to establish as nearly as possible the original text of the Martyrology. Then Dom Henri Quentin, a Benedictine (whom I know well) in a very elaborate work undertook to trace the sources of the Martyrology. For like all such works its value lies not in what it contains but in the sources whence it is taken, the various items having just that amount of value as have the sources whence they derive.

The original compilation was made from a Syrian list of martyrs (A. D. 411-412) now at the British Museum. This portion does not mention St. Thomas; for July there are only two entries, and the month of December is wholly wanting. An African (Carthaginian) list of martyrs, equally utilised, of about the same time, does not mention St. Thomas; it contains chiefly African Saints. From Rome come the lists of Roman martyrs and bishops of about A. D. 350, among whom St. Thomas of course is not. Then come various lists of local Italian and French martyrs and bishops. These are the original constituents of the Martyrology. But there were others from other quarters.

Our oldest manuscripts of the Martyrology do not go further back than the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. The oldest (Berne, written about A.D. 766) has

V Kal Jan. (28 December' In edissa translatio coporis sc. thome apostoli. Cod. Wissenburg (A.D.772) in edissa translatio corporis sci thomae apostoli. Fragment of Lorsch (Laureshamense, end of VIII or beginning of IXth C) Et in edissa translatio corporis sci thome. Cod. Epternac (Echternach, VIIIth C.) in edissa translatio tome apos.

On V Idus Fabr. (9th Febr.) Berne, Echtern. and Wissenb. have depositio Thomae, but this is probably another.

III Non. April (3rd April) Berne, and Wissenb. have In Sicia Thome, unquestionably also another.

VII Idus Maji (9th May) Berne and several others have Mediolano De ingressu reliquiarum apostolorum Johannis, Andree et thome in basilica ad protam romanam. (See at the end.)

III Nonas Junii (3rd June) Berne alone has Tuscie Natal. Sci Thome apostoli.

XII Kal. Julii (20th June) Berne and Wissenb. have a Thomas among a long list of martyrs,

V Non. Julii (3rd July) Berne has: In mesopotamie natal translationis corporis Sci Thome apostoli qui passus est in India. Epternac. has transl. tome apos in edessa. Wissenb. has In edissa mesopotamie translatio corporis sci thome apostoli qui passus est in India.

XII Kal Jan. (21 December) Berne (the page is missing): Eptern. passio thomae apos in India. Wissenb. In mesopotamia civit edissa ntl et transl corporis sci thomae apostl qui translatus est ab india cujus passio ibidem celebratur V Non. Jul.

From this you will see that there is a great confusion. Not only are there two translations marked, one on the 28th of December, but both the 3rd of July and the 21st of December occur indifferently as the day of the translation. The testimony of the martyrologies is therefore of no value, ...

In the Cod. Epternac. there is, further, a Notitia de locis SS. Apostolorum, which under XII Kl. Jan, says: Nat. s. Tome apostoli in India et translatio corporis ejus in Edessa, and a later hand adds: V K. Jul. This evidently rerefers to the translation to Edessa, but the writer made a mistake in saying K(alendas) instead of Nonis).

There is a further list of feasts of the Apostles, made up of the entries in innumerable manuscripts which all derive from what is supposed to be the original of Autissiordorensis (Auxerre, that is the placc where the martyrology was composed); this original is lost, but as all the derivates agree it must be assumed that thay reproduce the original.

On V Non. Jul. Epternac. has: Translatio Thomae apostoli in Edessa. The branch of Neustrian manscripts, also deriving from Autissiodor, have this: In Edissa Mesopotamiae transl. corporis S. Thomae apost. qui passus est in India.

On XII KL. Jan. Epternac. has: Passio Thomae apostoli in India. The Neustrian branch has; In Mesopotamia civitate Edissa nat. et translato corporis S. Thome qui translatus est ab India cujus passio ibidem celebratur V Non. Julii.

As you see there is always the same confusion, the writers of the Martyrologies never knew which was the day of the martyrdom and which the day of the translation, and therefore you cannot use this source. It was Ven. Bede who first put order into the matter. He twice revised the Martyr. and in both recensions he puts:

V Non. Jul. Translatio Thomae apostoli, in Edessa Passus vero in India.

XII Kl. Jan. Natale sancti Thomae apostoli, and elsewhere Passio Thomae apostoli in India.

The sources used by the deacon Florus say: (d'Achery) XII Kl. Jan. Thomas .... hic Parthis et Medis praedicator. ...occubuit in Calamicae Indiae civitate. Gregor. of Tours, Gloria Martyrum (Migne P. L. LXXI, 733) Thomas apostolus secundum historiam passionis ejus in Indiam Passus declaratur; cujus beatum corpus post multum tempus adsumptum in civitatem quam Syri Aedissam vocant translatum est, ibique sepultum.

Florus makes one article of the two: XII Kl. Jan. Apud Edessam natale sancti Thomae apostoli qui Parthis et Medis evangelium praedicavit, passus est in India. Corpus ejus in civitatem quam Syri Edessam vocant translatum ibique digno honore conditum est. And elsewhere: V Non Julii Translatio S. Thoma. XII Kal. Jan. Thomas. So also in both places the Paruum Romanum.

I need not go further. I will only remark that the word Natale originally means the birthday, that is, the day of death, but then comes to mean simply feast, hence Natale translationis, natale dedicationis. You cannot draw a conslusion from this word, just as the Spaniards use the word Pascua (Easter) for every feast, Pascua of Pentecost, Pascua of Christmas, etc.

From all this you will see that the Western Martyrolgies do not help much.

* * * * * * * *

I am sorry if I can be of no better help, but you will see that I have taken great trouble, and spent as much time as I could. But evidently there is little to be gained from Western sources. As to the Eastern I am not competent. From Greek sources, I think, you will get no more than from Latin. I am well acquainted with the Greek literature.

With the kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Fr. Benedict Zimmerman).

As an Appendix I have to add that the feast of St. Thomas does not appear very early in the West. It seems that the translation of a few relics by Gaudentius of Brescia to Milan* gave the occasion for a feast in the Ambrosian rite after that of SS. Peter and Paul, therefore probably on 3 July, although the translation is marked in the Martyr. on the 9th of May. In the oldest Roman liturgical books there is no feast of S. Thomas, but in the Mozarabic rite, the Gelasian Sacramentary and the Gregorian missal and antiphonary it is found, on the 21st of December, as Natale, and not as Translation.

*[S. Gaudentius (A. D. 420). Sermo XVII, Migne P. L. XX. 962.

The relics were those of St. John Baptist, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Luke.]

Moreover, the position of the name of St. Thomas in the Roman Canon clearly points to 21st December,

Thomae,	Jacobi et Philippi,	Bortholomaei,
21 Dec.	1st May	24th Aug.
Mathaei,		Simonis et Thadaei.
21st Sept.		28th Oct.

If the 3rd of July were meant, he would come between Philip and Bartholomew. It is clear that all those dates are primary feasts (Natale), not translations. The first names

Peter and Paul,
Andrew,
James and John.

are privileged.

The list dates from about A. D. 550, and depends on the dates of the list of the apostles in the Martyrology. Why these dates were chosen we do not know.

—:0:—

Revd. Fr. Bendict Zimmerman as if to supplement his first letter (Sathyanadam 24th May 1930) immediately despatched another letter which is as follows:—

Dear Rev. Father,

As you may not have the Roman books I thought I would add something to my yesterday's letter.

In Rome during the first three or four centuries after the peace of the Church only two kinds of feasts were kept, the anniversaries of local martyrs, and the dedications of churches. The commemorations of foreign saints who had no church in Rome, the various "mysteries" and what one may term fancy feasts were quite unknown. Hence, apart from SS. Peter and Paul we only find such apostles as had churches, S. Andrew, S. Bartholomew, &c. There is the basilica of the Holy Apostles, originally all of them, but gradually, as churches of individual apostles increased, reduced to SS. Philip and James, the dedication being still kept on May the first.

It is, therefore, not surprising, that neither the oldest Roman liturgy, as far as we know it, has any record of a feast of St. Thomas, nor the Gallican liturgy which really derives from the Roman (the Gothic, the Gallican &c). In the so-called Leonine Sacramentary of about A. D. 600 there is no feast of St. Thomas. But in the Gelasian which is purely Roman of the early 7th Century (with many Gallican additions which need not trouble us) we have St. Thomas, XII Kal. Jan., Natale, not translation. Da nobis, quaesumus, Domine, beati apostoli Thomae solemnitatibus gloriari ut ejus semper et patrociniis sublevemur, et fidem congrua devotione sectemur. (Ed. Wilson, Oxford, 1894, P. 208).

In the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary we find St. Thomas XII Kal. Jan. The same prayer. In the same Gregorian Liber Responsialis, XII Kal. Jan. Antiphons for Laudes and Benedictus. This is clearly the Natale in both cases, not the Translation. Migne, P. L. LXXVIII, 152 and 819.

In the Mozarabic rite in Spain there is the Mass of St. Thomas between 18th December, and 25th December, therefore clearly the 21st. The mass is like all Mozarabian masses, very long; I only quote from the Oratio ad pacem: Concede per hujus intercessionem allecte, ut ipsius dilectionis vinculo quo discupulos ad coelos remeans conglobasti, ipso nos almifico nexu in tua et proximi dilectione constringe. Migne, P. L. LXXXV, 177. In the Mozarabic breviary, 21st December, there is, besides many other pieces, a very long hymn for Vespers, beginning Festum Christe Rex per orbem, which contains practically the whole legend of the apostle. The following verse is about the martyrdom in India:

> Tunc sacerdos idolorum
> Furibundus astitit,
> Gladio transverberavit
> Sanctum Christi martyrem
> Gloriose passionis
> Laureatum sanguine.

Immediately afterwards:

> O beata inter omnes
> Edessena civitas
> Quae pignus suscepit almum
> Domini discipulum
> Ubi corpus requiescit
> Cum honore conditum.

Migne P. L. LXXXVI, 1302.

You can therefore state that although the testimony of the Martyrologies is useless on account of the continual confusion between martyrdom and translation, and the dates of these, one and the same martyr. contradicting itself, nevertheless from the time the

feast appears in the West there can be no doubt but that the 21st of December was kept exclusively, and always as the date of the martyrdom, and not of the translation....

Kind regards,
Yours sincerely
Fr. Benedict.

[The letters reproduced above appeared respectively in the issues of 24th May 1930 and 7th June 1930 of *Satyanadam* the oldest of the existing Malayalam newspapers.

See also App. V, & VI *infra* for some dates of St. Thomas feasts.] —T. K. J.

APPENDIX III.

Dom Henri Quentin on the Roman Martyrology.

"When the Roman Martyrology says, v. g., 'Calaminae Natalis S. Thomae Die 21', it means that on December 21 the death of St. Thomas, which took place at Calamina, is celebrated in Rome, and that it is believed that St. Thomas died on December 21, But from this we cannot confidently argue that St. Thomas died on December 21. For in historical questions such as this, the Roman Martyrology cannot be trusted. It is full of such errors. and is only a secondary document. Likewise the Roman Martyrology does not enter into the question whether, v. g., at Calamina, on Dec. 21, was, or is celebrated the death of St. Thomas."

This is an extract from Dom Henri Quentin's letter dated Rome, 26-5-1929 to the Rev. Fr. Romeo Thomas, T. O. C. D., of Mannanam, Travancore.—T. K. J.

APPENDIX IV.

I. Schuster on July 3 Martyrdom among the Latins.

"The well-known veneration to St. Thomas is clearly attested by the ancient Fathers, especially by Nissenus and St. Ephrem. The latter in his 'Carmina Nisibena' XLII, describes the devil howling, because a merchant had brought to Edessa from India a part of the head of the Apostle: "The devil howled: into what land shall I fly from the just? I stirred up death to slay the Apostles, that by their death I might escape their blows. But now I am struck still harder; the Apostle whom I slew in India, has overtaken me in Edessa. Here and there he remains all himself; thither I went and there was he; here and there I found him and I grieved."

"The Greeks celebrate his feast on the 6th of October, But among the Latins, on the other hand the calendar called the one of Charles the Great, of 781, assigns the 3rd of July, in accordance with the Primitive Oriental custom which custom retains that day as the natal day of the Apostle. The Martyrology of Silos, among the additions by a second hand records St. Thomas to 21st December; but in the margins (latercoli) of the Hieronymian Epternac and Wissemburg, the abovesaid date appears as the date of the translation of the relics of the Apostle to Edessa.

In Rome the Feast of St. Thomas dates from the Middle Ages. It appears in the Gregorian and in the calendar of St. Peter of the 12th century. But it must be more ancient because Pope Symmachus built a chapel to the Apostle in the vactican." (Liber Sacramentorum: Note Storichee Liturgiche Sul Missale Romano, Vol. VI, P. 122).

APPENDIX V.

July 3 Martyrdom among the East Syrians.

Patriarcat Chaldeen De Babylone. } Rome, 24th Sept. 1929.

Joseph Emmanuel II. Thomas,

By Grace, Patriarch Katholikos of Babylon of the Chaldeans,

To Our beloved son, Fr. Thomas, Religious of the Chaldean Carmelite Congregation in Malabar,

Peace and Apostolic Blessing.

These days, We are in tbe city of great Rome. Here Our beloved son, Rev. Fr. Placid of your Congregation, informed Us that your Rce. had sent Us a letter, inquiring of Us, in what manner, according to the Rite of the Chaldean Church, is celebrated the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, the Founder of the Apostolic Faith among our people and the Originator of the Patriarchl See of our Chaldean Church. Although your letter did not reach Us, still owing to the request of Our beloved son. the above-said Fr. Placid, and on account of his assurance, We make the following statement.

1. The grade of the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle is among the feasts of the first class of the Rite of our nation and the Chaldean Church, codified in the 9th century of our Lord in the days of Mar Jesuab Adiabenus and called "The Rite of the Upper Monastery," according to which. all the ceremonies of our Chaldean Church have received completion and perfection in the form and practice even now in force among us. Nevertheless even before the said codification of the Upper Monastery, the Dukharana of St. Thomas the Apostle had been mentioned in the works of the Fathers, among which are those of the holy and great Doctor or our Church the famous St. Ephrem.

2. What event, then, is commemorated by the Feast ot St. Thomas, which was falling at all times on the 3rd day of Thamuz, as it is also now ? We say that this feast reminds us of the death of the Apostle and of his Martyrdom.and nothing else.

And this tradition of the Martyrdom and death of St. Thomas on the 3rd day of the month of Thamuz is, no doubt, universally found also among the separated ones of our Rite (Nestorians) and also among the West Syrians, namely, the Uniates and the heretics (Jacobites).

These things are so. And O! Our beloved son, to your Rce. and to the whole community of your Congregation, We impart Our paternal blessing."

The above is the translation of a Syraic letter (see App. X) received by the Rev. Fr. Romeo Thomas, T. O. C. D., B.A. (Hons.), L. T., and published in the Malayalam newspaper *Nazrani Deepika* of Mannanam.

—T. K. J.

APPENDIX VI.

July 3 Martyrdom among the West Syrians.

Translation of Patriarch of Antioch's Letter.

(By the Rev. Fr. Placid,

(T.O.C.D., Ph. D., D.D., D.C.L.)

Patriarcat Syrien Catholique D' Antioche. } Beyrouth.

Ignatius Gabriel I,
(SEAL)

Patriarch of Antioch of the Syrians.

Apostolic Benediction and Peace of love to the modest, revered, Malabarian Religious, Father Placid.

Beloved Son, Peace in Our Lord.

Your Reverence's learned letter of the 3rd of March reached us........... a word of reply to your questions We are going to set down saying:

1. The whole Church of Antioch of the Syrians, which in course of time has been divided into four nations, viz. the Melchite Syrians in our days called Roman Melchites, the East Syrians known today as Chaldeans and Nestorians, the West Syrians, and the Maronite Syrians, celebrates on the *3rd of Thamuz* the feast of the martyrdom of St. Jude Thomas, Apostle of India. It (the feast) has a special service which even today they all make use of, since at one time all were subject to the one Patriarch of Antioch.

2. Our Syrian Church of Antioch in a special and particular manner commemorates on *New Sunday* (Whitsunday) the faith of St. Thomas the Apostle, and the whole Canonical Office for that day is made to refer to the glorious deeds of the Apostle.

3. Again, our Syrian Church, even today keeps the commemoration of St. Thomas the Apostle on the *6th of October* exactly as on the very same day this same commemoration is kept in Calaminia a town in India.

4. Again, our Syrian Church of Antioch used once to celebrate on the *22nd of August* the remembrance of the translation of the bones of the Apostle St. Thomas from India to Edessa which took place in the year 394 of Our Lord in the days of Mar Cyrus bishop of that city. The reliquary of the Apostle was deposited in his great church in the same Edessa. This is written in the 'Short Narratives of Incidents' i. e. in the ancient history of Edessa. But in our days this commemoration has become obsolete in our Church of Antioch. Michael the Great, Patriarch of Antioch, and the celebrated Mafrian Bar Hebraeus have written in their chronicles thus: 'At the time of Eulogius bishop of Edessa they brought the reliquary to Edessa in the year 412 of our Lord'.

The Maronite Syrians honour St. Thomas the Apostle of India on the *5th of October*.

That the Jacobite Syrians on the *10th of September* celebrate the commemoration of the translation of the bones of the Apostle is not today known in our Church. Perhaps they changed the 22nd of August of which we spoke above to the 10th of September.

* * * * * * *

Beyrouth, May 5, A. D. 1930.

These letters from the Patriarchs of Babylon and Antioch have been inserted here merely because they give the dates of some of the St. Thomas feasts as observed in the Syrian Church today.

For their originals in Syriac see Appendices X and IX. —†. K. J.

APPENDIX. VII

Martyrdom on Dec. 21

In the Kanara Brahmin's Tamil reading (in 1562 A. D.) of the Pahlavi inscription on the Mount cross he gives Dec. 21 as the day ot St. Thomas's martyrdom. This is his reading:—

1. அறி யேசு கர்தன் அய்யாறு தன்னில்
2. தேறிய தனுவில் திருந்த மூவேழில்
3. பராபரமாகிய பரம்பொருள் ஒன்றை
4. தராதரகாளி யெதிர் கண்டியங்கி,
5. பூதகுலத்துத் தியகறுமுனி தான்
6. வாழ்தல் பொருந்தும் வகையதுவாகியே.

TRANSLATION.

1. Know that in (the year) five times six of the Lord Jesus,
2. In the great Dhanu (i. e. December), on the auspicious three times seven (i. e. 21st day),

3, 4. (The goddess) Kali of the hill (the Little Mount) saw before her the Sole, Supreme God and trembled;

5, 6. And that was the means of the indefatigable sage of the Jewish race (i. e. St. Thomas), deserving (eternal) life (i. e. his being martyred).

(See my *Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents*, p. 24, and App., p. VII. For some old translations in European languages, of the Brahmin's spurious reading see JPASB, N. S. Vol. 21, 1925, pp. 507—548). —T. K. J.

APPENDIX VIII.

Gouvea's Jornada refers to the matter twice: Liv. 1, cap. 19. fol. 60v. col. 2. and Liv. 2, cap. 2, fol. 77r. 79r.

In the first passage he says that the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar kept. "with much solemnity the sweating of the Cross of the glorious Apostle St. Thomas, which is on the 18th of December. And, on the 3rd of July, a feast with solemnity in honour of the same Apostle, which some say was the day when he landed in these parts of India, while others say it was the day on which his body was translated to the place where it is, which is the same day on which the Church celebrates the feast of the translation of his body to the City of Edessa,......They doubt that this their Christianity celebrates this feast from the most ancient times on this day, when the Church celebrates his translation to Edessa" (In this last sentence, Gouvea's punctuation is as involved as what he says. I have improved the punctuation above. I now give Gouvea's exact wording with his punctuation: E de hua, ou outra maneira, muyto faz por esta tresladacam, de algus, achandose ca o corpo do glorioso Apostolo duvidao, celebrar esta sua Christandade de tempos antiquissimos esta festa neste dia, em q' a Igreja celebra sua tresladacam pera Edessa.)

In the second passage he writes. "In this Church [of Cotette] the Archbishop [Menezes] was four days, and in it he celebrated a special feast which among the Christians is celebrated from very ancient times on the 3rd of July in honour of the glorious Apostle St. Thomas. And, though they do not know the ground for it, and some say that it is the day when he landed in these parts of India, doubtless it is the translation of part of the body of the glorious Apostle made to the City of Edessa, which the Roman Martyrology fixes on this day, albeit that the greater part of the body remained in the place where it was, and, with this, three are the feasts which these Christians celebrate with great solemnity in honour of the glorious Apostle: to wit, on the 3rd of July and on the 21st of December is the chief feast of his day, and, on the 18th (of December), on the day when we celebrate in Spain the feast of our Lady's Expectation, the feast of the sweating of the Cross called St. Thomas' Cross, which they found near the place where he was killed."

In Action 8, decree 9 of the Synod of Diamper, we find among the feasts of obligation fixed by the Synod three feasts in honour of St. Thomas.

July 3: "the feast of the glorious Apostle St. Thomas, which some say is the translation, others (the day) when he landed in these parts, and it is wont to be kept by the ancient custom of this Bishopric."

December 18: "In conformity with the custom of this Bishopric, the feast of the day when sweats the Cross of the glorious Apostle St. Thomas."

December 21: "the feast of the same Apostle St. Thomas."

[The above are extracts from the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten's article in Malabar Herald, Cochin, of Nov. 30, 1929.]

Patriarcat Syrien Catholique

D'Antioche. (Seal) Beyrouth.

ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܒ.

ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܕܣܘܪܝܝܐ.

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

* * *

APPENDIX X.

Patriarcat Chaldeen De Babylone.

[illegible]

† [illegible]

[illegible]

ܫܠܡܐ ܘܒܘܪܟܬܐ ܫܠܝܚܝܬܐ.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Some Remarks on Series 4 of K. S. P.

(Thomas Cana's plates, Mar Jacob's orthodoxy, and earliest Tamil printing.)

(By the Rev. G. Schurhammer, S. J.)

Kindly allow me to offer a few remarks on two of the very interesting articles in the fourth number of your Review (*Kerala Society Papers, Series 4.*)

1. *Page 169, Column 2.*

The *Cronica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel composta por Damiao de Gois* has come out in an excellent new edition, the Nova edicao, conforme a primeira, anotada e prefaciada, dirigida por Joaquim Martins Teixeira de Carvalho e David Lopes. Coimbra. Imprensa da Universidade 1926. From its introduction we see that the First Part containing the passage about the famous copper-plates of bishop Jacob Mar Abuna, the great friend of St. Francis Xavier, (Parte I, 216-217) was printed on July 17th 1566, the first Imprimatur being of march 29th 1566. Goes began the work in 1558. Therefore, the Portuguese translation of the copper-plates, sent to king John III. by Pero de Sequeira, was already lost in 1566.

2. *Page 172, Column, 1.*

Pero de Sequeira was treasurer in Cochin in 1544 according to Goes (I, 216), He was still in Cochin in 1547, as is shown by his original letter, dated December 20th 1547 to the king (Torre do Tombo, Col. de S. Lourence II, 442) and also in 1549, the year of the bishop's death, as follows from Goes. He showed the plates to the then governor, who was of course not Martin Affonso de Souza, but Cabral or his successor D. Affonso de Noronha, & sent their Portuguese translation probably about 1550 or 1551 to the King, who died in 1557. The fact that Sequeira mixes up various things and that Goes, who since 1548 was Guarda-mor of the Torre do Tombo, complains that the translation was not deposited there and could no longer be found, shows that both met only many years after the death of Abuna Mar Jacob say about 1558, when Goes began to write his chronicle and collect materials for it.

3. *Page 172, Column. 1.*

Abuna Mar Jacob was never "convicted of the heresies of Nestorius", as Rev. Monteiro d' Aguiar's article, p. 172, seems to suggest. On the contrarary, St. Francis Xavier in 1549 calls him a "very virtuous and holy man, who has been serving God and your Highness in these parts these last 45 years, and now in his old age is very obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother the Church." The same is shown by his two letters 1523 and 1530 and those of Frei Antonio Padrao of 1530 and of Frei Lourence de Goes and others, still preserved in their originals in the Torre do Tombo (cf. G. Schurhammer, Ceylon zur Zeit des Konigs Bhuvaneka Bahu & Franz Xavers 1539-1552. Leipzig. 1928, 533, Note 4).

4. *Page 186, column* 1, *g.*

The text of the copper plate in Goes' chronicle has not : "fazia doacam do *dizino*', as Fr. Hosten restores his worm-eaten text, but : "fazia doacam do *quinto*", which corresponds to the "five taxes" in bishop Roz' translation (p. 181, column. 2.)

5. *Page 217, column, 1, notes 2, 3, 4.*

The Catechism printed in Malabar in the 16th century by the Jesuits, which so many bibliographers have sought for in vain, has been preserved in one single copy. It is in the Library of the Sorbonne (University of Paris) and the kindness of the present Director has enabled me to get it photographed. It measures 14 × 10 cm., is bound in fine Indian leather with Renaissance ornaments and printed on strong paper, 60 pages. The Portuguese title is : Doctrina Christaa a maneyra de/Dialogo : feyta em Portugal pello/padre Marcos Iorge da Companhia de/IESU : Tresladada em lingua Malauar/Tamul pello padre Anrique Anriquez/da mesma Companhia. Impressa com appro/uacao do Ordinario, & Inquisidor,/& com licenca do superior. Em/Cochim, no Collegio da/Madre de Deos, aos/quatorze de Nouem/bro, do Anno de/M. D. LXXIX.

The text is printed in very clear and beautiful *Tamil* types ; the headings are given in Portuguese.

—G. S.

NOTES.

I

It will be good if records relating to Abuna Mar Jacob's orthodoxy and heresy are supplied, with English translation, for publication in the journal of the Kerala Society. The exact nature of Mar Jacob's religious persuation at different times is one of the controversial topics among Malabar Christians.

II

In Jan. 1924, while he was in Trivandrum, the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S. J. kindly lent me a photo of the title page of the above *Doctrina Christaa*, of which page I took a copy including the Tamil portion also.

Gonsalvez cast types in 1577, and the above *Tamil* book was printed in November 1579, Was no book or tract or leaflet, or something else printed with his types during nearly two long years that elapsed between 1577 and November 1579 ? Something must have been printed before *Doctrina*.

The question whether Gonsalvez cast also *Malayalam* types is still left unsettled.

—T. K. Joseph.

Letters of D. Joao da Cruz

in the National Archives of Lisbon.

(By the Rev. G. Schurhammer, S. J.)

The *Indian Antiquary*, vol, 57 (1928), 157—159 published an article on a Nair ambassador to Portugal, the famous D. Joao da Cruz, who brought about the conversion of the Paravas of the Pearlfishery Coast to the Catholic religion before the arrival of Saint Francis Xavier. Perhaps it will interest his countrymen to know that several original letters of his are still preserved in the Torre do Tombo, the National Archives, in Lisbon.

As Gaspar Correa tells us in his *Lendas da India*, the Zamorim of Calicut, desirous to conclude a lasting peace with Portugal, determined in 1512 to send a young relation of his with two companions to Lisbon, "not as ambassador, but only to see Portugal, its

king and his things." The young man was 15 years old and left India in the beginning of 1513. King Manuel was very glad to see him and won him over to the Catholic Faith. He received the Christian name Dom Joao da Cruz, learned to read and write Portuguese, lived at the Court and got the habit of the order of Christ, which was connected with a life grant. After 5 years' stay in Portugal "he returned to Calicut with many presents of king Manuel (II, 331), October 1518." Correa calls him "the young *Nair* Joao da Cruz" (II, 556—558) and says that when the Governor landed in Calicut, January 1519, the Zamorim, who was pleased with the young man very much, as he told him many things about Portugal, sent him with a companion to visit his guest (II, 564). In 1525, we are told, D. Joao da Cruz on account of his health moved from Calicut to Cochin with his house (II, 895). Saint Francis Xavier informs us in 1542 that the Paravas were baptized 8 years before (*Monumenta Xaveriana*, Matriti, I, 273) and Manuel Teixeira, S. J., tells us how this was brought about by Joao da Cruz, who at that time was bringing horses to one of the kings of that country (*Monumenta Xaveriana* II, 847).

The following original letters of this D. Joao da Cruz are still preserved:

1. Ca. 1515. *Dom Joao da Cruz to king manuel of Portugal* (published in "*Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*" Lisboa, 1903, III, 208—209). The writer calls himself "Dom Joham, ambassador of the king of Calicut"; the letter must therefore have been written after his baptism. Besides, he asks for certain graces, amongst them for the Habit of Christ. As he got the Habit on 12th March 1515 (according to the MS. *B. Pimenta de Avellar, Litvro dos Cavalleiros de Cristo*, Torre do Tombo, f. 213v), the letter must have been written before that date (*Cartas dos governadores de Africa etc.* No. 318).

2. 1516, 18th Jan. *Diogo de Moraes to the king, from Calicut.* Writes, how he came with D. Joao da Cruz from Lisbon to Calicut by order of the King (D. Manuel) and that D. Joao is going to build a church for his use (*Corpo Ghronologico*, 1-19-75). So Correa is wrong in saying, that he returned only in 1518.

3. 1518, 15th Jan. *D. Joao da Gruz to the Secretary of State Antonio Garneiro, from Galicut.* Thanks him for his letter and the grant, which the king of Portugal gave him and asks for an "alvara", making this grant for life (*Gorpo Ghron*, 1-23-7.)

4. 1520, 22nd Jan. *The same to the king from Calicut.* Informs him of a Mahometan, who smuggles pepper, etc., together with the king's officials (*Corpo Ghron.*, 1-25-108).

5. 1521, 18th Nov. *The same to the king, from Calicut.* Recommends to the king Lopo Diaz, who is living in his house (*Corpo Chron.*, 1-27-72).

6. 1521, 20th Dec. *The same to king John III, from Gochin.* Tells him, how his father king Manuel made him a Christian and knight of the order of Christ and fidalgo of his house, and lent him from his factory of Calicut 7400 pardaos to trade with them and so earn his living; and how he lost the ship at sea and was ruined, and how the factor Duarte Fernandez proceeded against him and took from him all he had left; and that he owed the king still 5000 pardaos. He had got license to send a certain amount of pepper and ginger to Portugal for 3 years, which were now over. He asks to allow him to send them in the future to Cambay, so as to gain wherewith to pay off his debts (*Corpo Chron.*, 1-27-78).

7. 1533, 20th Dec. *The same to king John III from Cochin.* He says he got the king's letter of 1524, but no answer to his answer arrived. Since that time he has been maltreated, put in irons together with "black people" against his privileges of the Habit. He owes still 3-4000 pardaos. He lost over 60,000 pardaos in the king's service when Calicut was besieged, and was several times wounded on this occasion. Dom Anrique gave him a ship to bring his wife & children with him, which sank in front of Calicut with all his goods. Only he with his family was saved on a plank. He asks to cancel his debt or to have patience. Through his imprisonment he lost much of his credit with the kings of the country, and more than 1000 people ready to become Christians were now afraid to follow his example. He asks to be made captain and factor of Quilon for life, and promises to stop the pepper smuggling to Bisnaga (Vijayanagar). Besides he asks for the monopoly of selling horses to the Rey. Grande (of Cape Comorin), the king of Travancore, the kingdom of Chymbechenaque, and the kingdom of the Beteperemal and the neighbouring kingdoms, which are at war with Bisnaga and the Idalcao. Besides, he asks for the office of collecting the tribute of the Pearlfishery which belongs to the Rey Grande-Through two 'alvaras' of 1518 (24th February), and 1525 (4th March) sent by king Manuel, (which he copies), he was allowed to send annually 100 quintals of pepper to Cambay, (resp. 50 quintals of pepper) and 30 quintals of ginger. But for 12 years he had not been able to do it. The name of the Pepper-King is Chempenecoy, the names of the other kings are: Lerta Morte Treberery, Teque Cute Nayre, Cherabacoy, Yreme Treberery, Yrama Trebery, Unyque Trebery, Ylamana Lambratry. These are the names of the kings through whose lands the pepper goes to the side of the Rey Grande (of Cape Comorin). If he had the monopoly of selling horses there, he would stop the pepper going there to Narsinga and Bengal (*Corpo Chron.*, 1-52-25). (See *Kerala Society Papers*, Series 4, pp. 221, 223 for the above kings.—T. K. J.)

8. 1537, 15th Dec. *The same to king John III from Cochin.* In 1535 he got a letter from the king and an 'alvara', allowing him 2 years' time to pay his debt of 6000 pardaos to the king. Repeats how his ship sank and he was ruined by it. To regain his fortune he went to Cape Comorin with a dozen horses, which he gave to the king there, without however receiving any payment. Going there to receive his money, he persuaded that whole coast to become Christians. He went then to Cochin with about 20 of their principal men to the 'vedor' Pero Vaz and the Vicar General and the Governor, who sent him back with the Vicar General Miguel Vaz & 4 clerics, & at once 50,000 were baptized; and after them countless people followed their example so that there are now 80,000 Christians. He asks as reward for his many expenses the pearl-fishery for 4-5 years, as he hopes in this case to get 200,000 Christians. The king of Calicut took from him 35,000 pardaos, because he had become a Christian in Portugal, and would have taken his wife and children, had he not sought refuge in the fortress of Calicut, besides many other possessions, which he took. Going from Cape Comorin to Cochin, in Sept. or Oct. 1537, he came through Travancore to speak with the king of that country, how useful it would be for him and his men to become Christians, and how the Portuguese would then sell him horses, which he needed so much for his wars with his neighbour, the Rey Grande.

He at once allowed those on the coast to become Christians. and sent ambassadors to Cochin, who were waiting for the Governor and the Vicar General to send clerics to baptize them, as they did at Cape Comorin (*Corpo Chron.*, 1—60—44).

So far the letters of D. Joao da Cruz. From an entry in the "*Livro das merces que fez o senhor Dom Joao de Castro*" (Ajuda, Lisboa, 51—8—46, f. 140), August 1547, we see that the rich Mahometan merchant Khoja Shems-ud-Din got in emphyteusis a piece of land in Cochin, which formerly had belonged to Joao da Cruz, who had had to hand it over to the king on account of his debts, which in this way seem to have been finally paid.

—G. S.

The History of Malabar

of Fr. Diogo Gonsalvez, S. J. (1615).

(By the Rev. G. Schurhammer, S. J.)

In the possession of the Society Jesus is a precious manuscript, 21 × 15 cm., of 88 folios, bound in Indian leather, written in Portuguese and (as appears from the context and the contemporary letters from Malabar) about A.D. 1615 in Quilon by the famous Travancore missionary Diogo Gonsalvez, S.J., though no date, place, or name is given. As time is at present wanting for a translation or even a detailed account, I give here only a short summary of its chapters. The title is *Historia do Malauar, comecando do Gabo do comorim ate Batecalor*. Its contents are:

Part I, Book I:

Ch. 1. The first king called Paraxurame [= Parasurama.]
2. Kingdom Porca.
3. Kingdom Muterte and Lerte.
4. King of Cochin (Peruporapu Coil) [= Perumpadappu Kovil.]
5. King of Poru and Mongate.
6. Marriages in general.
7. „ of Brahmins.
8. „ merchants. [Does he mean the Syrian Christians of Malabar ?]
9. „ Kings.
10. Marriages of Nairs and low-castes.
11. Laws of Inheritance.
12. Laws concerning castes (untouchables)
13. Government.
14. Tribute.
15. Rights of the People.
16. Dignities.
17. Ceremonies in conferring dignities.
18. Justice.
19. Science (astrology, mathematics, languages, etc.).

Book II.

1. Idols.
2. Xayuam, law of Shiva. [Saivam.]
3. Vaiztinauam, religion of Shiva. [Vaishnavam, of Vishnu, not Siva.]
4. Dectrine of Salvation.
5. Tirtam ceremonies. [Teertham.]
6. The most famous temple of Malabar: Retora. [Aruvithura ?]
7. Triuatale temple. [Thruthala ?]
8. Temple of Cape Komorim.
9. How Rama killed the giant of Ceylon (Ramanamcoil temple).
10. Ceremonies of the Brahmins.
11. Festivities.

12. Funeral ceremonies of the Brahmins.
13. ,, ,, kings and others.
14. ,, ,, Sanyassis.
15. Sati.
16. Some devil sacrifices (Patragali) [Bhadrakali.]
17. Pudam sacrifice. [Pooram ?]
18. Jequi sacrifice. [Sakti, or Yakshi ?]
19. Sorcerers.
20. Calendar.
21. How Shiva killed Brahma for lying.
22. Places of Malabar.
23. Chief towns of Travancore.
24. The kingdom Quilon and Gundra (with the "juncaos" from Quilon to Cochin).
25. Fable of the giant Iranien. [Hiranyan]
26. Story of Xurpaguen. [Soorpakan.]
27. Origin of the Thomas Christians. (Speaks of their copper-plates, one of which they preserve in their church of Teualacore, and adds, that the Thomaschristians are called "Nazarani Mapullemor", but in Travancore "Torijacal"). [Tarisaykkal.]

Book III. Refutation of some errors.

1. Abuses in marriage (essential).
2. " " (not essential).
3. " causing death (eating earth, drinking arrack, smoking tobacco, etc.)

[Tobacco was brought to Malabar in 1552 A. D.

4. Untouchables.
5. Injustices (taxes).

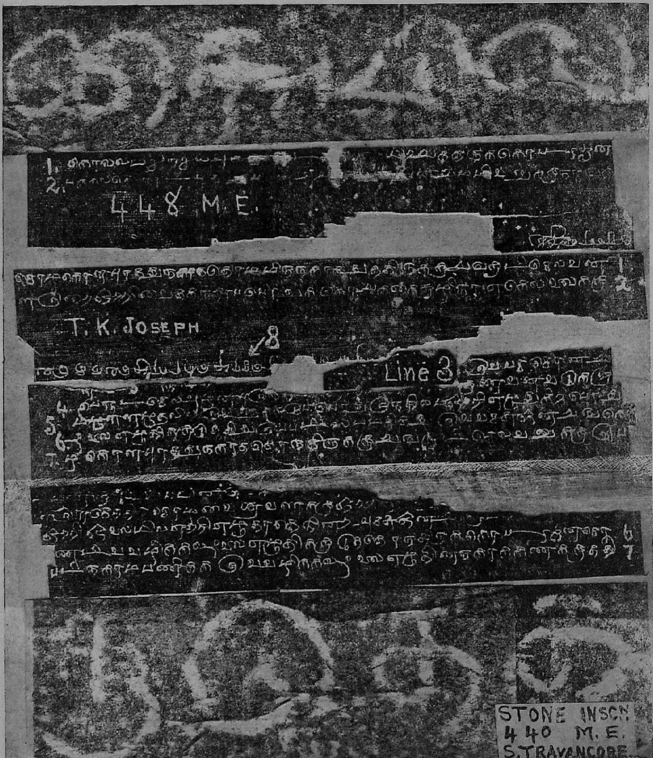
Part II. book IV.

1. What have we to believe about God and Salvation ?
2. How do we recognize supernatural revelation as such ?
3. What we have to presuppose as first sure principles, in order to argue with pagans.
4. Argument: There is only *one* God and *one* true religion.
5. Argument: The indian doctrine of Trimurti is false.
6. Errors about the means of Salvation.
7. Errors about the way of praying to God.
8: The religion of God must be the better one
9. ,, ,, more difficult one
10. ,, ,, one of the fewer followers.
11. ,, ,, must yet deserve to be followed.
12. First proof for the true religion: It can not contain falsities.
13. Second proof : It must make its followers holy and truthful.
14. Third proof : It must be confirmed by true miracles.
15. Fourth proof : It must be conserved and spread in spite of persecutions.
16. Proof, that the Christian religion alone is the true religion.

These, in short, are the contents of the book. The title "History of Malabar" is therefore misleading. Better would have been the title: "Malabar, its kingdoms, people, customs and religion" for the first part; and "A Catechism of the true religion" for the second part. The whole was evidently intended to be a handbook for the missionaries working in southern Malabar, to give them the necessary information about the country and the chief arguments for converting its inhabitants to the Christian faith.

— G. S.

The portions in [ ] brackets are my additions. See *K. S. P.* 3, pp. 136-140, and *K. S. P.* 4, pp: 221-224 for the identification of some of the proper names in the above article. — T. K. J.



A PALM-LEAF MANUSCRIPT OF 448 M. E. (1273 A. D.)

Slightly enlarged.

S. DESIVINAYAGAM PILLAI.

A Palm-leaf Manuscript of 448 M. E.

(By S. Desivinayagam Pillai.)

An original cadjan document six and a half centuries old is indeed a very rare find The credit of its preservation for such a long time is due to the ancient family of Periaveettu Mudaliar of Azhakiapandiapuram in South Travancore. The record is fast crumbling to dust and requires very careful handling. Parts of it have already become damaged resulting in the loss of many words. The language in which it is written is Tamil and the characters employed resemble those of the Chola and Pandya inscriptions of the 12th or 13th century A. D.

Abstract of Contents.

In the month of Makaram 448 M. E. the 'nagarathars' of Kottar, near Nagercoil in South Travancore (திருக்கோட்டாறு alias சோழகேரளபுரம்) mortgaged a common property of their's to one திருக்குறுங்குடிசெல்வன் who was also a native of the same place, and in consideration thereof received a sum of money *plus* one புதுப்பொன்அச்சு (new coin of gold) from the latter. This supplementary document relating to the sum of one gold Achchu left out from a previous *otti* deed, was written by சோழகேரளமூவேந்தவேளான், the 'nagaram' accountant at Kottar as directed by the 'nagarathars' of the town (திருக்கோட்டாறு alias சோழகேரளபுரம்).

TEXT.

(See plate opposite for fascimile of ola)

1. கொல்லம் சாசம(அ) ...ட ... (ம)கரநா யிற்றுத் திருக் கோட்டாறுன சோழகேரளபுரத் து நகரத்தோம் மிந்நகரத்துத் திருக்குறுங்குடி செல்வன்.

2. பக்கல்கொண்ட புதுப்(பொ)பான் அ(ச்சு) ஒன்றும் மிவனுக்கு நாங்கள் இறைஒற்றி வைத்த நகரப்பொதுக் கொறுக்கைக்குழி நான் கெல்லைக்கு

3. ......இவ்வச்சொன்றும் முன்குடுத்துப் பின் ப......

4. பொருட்செலவு. முன்பு இ ...குணவன் வடுகனுன இராசேந்திரசோழ வைருவணக்கு[1] ஒற்றி......

5. (ட்டுள்ள) முதலில் இவனு......இப்போது இந்நிலம் ஒற்றி எழுதுகிறபோது ஒற்றி ஓலையில் ஏற்றி எழுதாதே நின்ற அச்சு ஒன்றுக்கும்....

6. ஓலை எழுதிக்குடுத்திது. இப்படி ஸம்மதித்த இவ்வச்சு ஒன்றுங் கொண்டிவ்வழிக்கலஓலை எழுதிக்குடுத்தோந் திருக்கோட்டாறுன சோ

7. ழகேரளபுரத்து நகரத்தோந் திருக்குறுங்குட செல்வனுக்கு. இப்படி நகரம் பணிக்க இவ்வழிக்கல ஓலை எழுதின நகரக்கணக்குத் தி

8. ......சோழகேரள மூவேந்த வேளான்[3] எழுத்து.

NOTES.

1. The day of the month is not given in the document.

2. Kottar is also known as மும்முடி சோழ நல்லூர் in inscriptions.

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1 The very same name occurs in a Cholapuram inscription of 423 M. E. See Note IV *infra*.—T. K. J.

3. The titles தித்த விஞேத மூவேந்த வேளார், வீரபாண்டிய மூவேந்தவேளார், & தென்னவசிகாமணி மூவேந்தவேளார் occur in a Suchindram inscription of Vira Pandya of about the same age as the present ola, See T. A. S. II, pp. 19, 20.—T. K J.

3. Nagarathar (நகரத்தார்)—Literally the word means 'townspeople or people of a town'. But it has been found differently interpreted by different scholars e. g.

(a) திருவிடைமருதில் நகரத்தாரும் தேவகன்மிகளும்' = the merchants (nagarathar) and the temple servants (Devakanmi) of Tiruvidaimarutil.' (Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri—*S. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 379.)

(b) 'இந்நகரத்து நகரத்தோமும் பேரிளமையோரும்' = 'We, the middle-aged citizens of this town'. (Dr. Hultzsch—*S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 64.)

Now, let us see whether the word has any local meaning as used in Nanchinad (South Travancore). Even now the Mudaliars of அழகியபாண்டியபுரம், ஆளூர் and other places have a custom of prefixing the term நகரம் to their proper names, e. g. "ஆளூரான விக்கிரம சோழபாண்டியபுரத்து நகரம் உடைய நயினுன் தாணுமாலயப்பெருமாள் முதலியார்." When questioned, they explain that the word is there as the reminder of their original home புகார்நகரம், i. e. காவிரிப்பூம் பட்டினம், from which their ancestors are believed to have emigrated to Nanchinad in South Travancore. The expression அழகியபாண்டியபுரம் நகரத்தார் is generally accepted in these parts as equivalent to the Mudaliars of அழகியபாண்டியபுரம் near Nagercoil in S. Travancore. There exist documentary and other evidences to show that many Mudaliar families resided at Vadiveeswaram (வடிவீசுவரம்), a suburb of Kottar in former days.

In these circumstances I am of opinion that the word நகரத்தார் occurring in the present record denotes only the Mudaliars and not the entire population of the town of Kottar.

4. புதுப்பொன் அச்சு—new achchu of gold. The value of an achchu—a minted or stamped coin—is found to be 18 Kaliyugaraman fanams.

Cf. (a) "ஒற்றி ஓலைப்படி அச்சு-மக-னல் பணம் ாகூமஅ-க்கு." (—An un-published Mudaliar document dated 699 M. E.)

(b) "மாவினல் தாஒத்த அச்சு கூமஎ-க்கு அன்றுடு வழங்கும் நென்மேனி கலியுகராமன் பணம்-கஆஉாகூ." (—An unpublished Mudaliar document dated 724 M. E.)

5. கொறுக்கைக்குழி—may be the name of a paddy field.

6. குணவன் வடுகனுன ராஜேந்திர சோழ வைசிரவணன்—Rajendra Chola Vaisravanan appears to be a title rather than a proper name. I am tempted to suggest here that the word வைசிரவணன் might be the proto-type of வைராவணன், one of the three titles borne by some members of the above Mudaliar community even now, the other two being சேரகோன் and வணிகராமன். The வைராவணன் family became extinct long ago but representatives of சேரகோன் and வணிகராமன் families are found even to this day at அழகியபாண்டியபுரம் and other places in South Travancore as well as on the Tamil east coast of South India.

7. The significance of the term வழிக்கல ஓலை is not plain. May it be a codicil or a supplementary document ?

8. இந்நகரத்து திருக்குறுங்குடி செல்வன்—Some may translate this as "செல்வன் of திருக்குறுங்குடி now residing in this town." திருக்குறுங்குடி is a famous Vaishnava centre in the Tinnevelly district. What objection can be raised to treating the whole expression திருக்குறுங்குடி செல்வன் as the name of an individual I cannot understand. Cf. சுசிந்தைப் பெருமாள், சிதம்பரநாதன், திருவரங்கத்தமுதனுர், வைக்கப்பன் (= 'the god of Vycome' in Travancore), etc. All these are names of persons.

—S. D. P.

Notes by T. K. J.

I

The earliest South Indian manuscript on palm-leaf known to Burnell is dated in A. D. 1428. (See *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 87). The present MS. being of A. D. 1273 is 155 years earlier than the earliest known to Burnell. Buhler, in his *Indian Palaeography*, expressed the hope that "further researches in Southern India will probably show that older MSS. (prior to A. D. 1428) exist." See *Indian Antiq.* for 1904, Appendix, p. 94, footnote 9). The discovery of the present palm-leaf has justified his hope. But palm-leaf MSS. approaching in antiquity the fragments in the Godfrey Collection from Kashgar, assigned by Hoernle to at least the 4th century, or the Bower MS., or even the Horiuzi palm-leaf MS. of the 6th century, do not probably exist in the damp region of Kerala. The present palm-leaf shows signs of having been formerly kept exposed to the desiccating and preservative action of hot smoke from the kitchen fire, as was the practice in olden days. It appears also to have been originally made more durable than raw, unseasoned palm-leaf by soaking in water and marshy clay. More ancient specimens of palmyra palm-leaves thus specially prepared and preserved in hot smoke may be extant in the dry air of South Travancore, or even in the other parts of Kerala, which are damp. On 20th June 1925 I received information about the existence in Muvattupula, North Travancore, of a dated, original palm-leaf MS. said to be about 600 years old, belonging to the Vadakara Jacobite church there. I wrote to the Vicar of the church instructing him how to preserve it, but have not yet been able to examine it myself. Talipot palm-leaves are more durable than palmyra leaves, and the most ancient of the MSS. extant in Kerala are likely to be those written on talipot leaves (*talipatra* or *taliyola*).

II

Line 1. The worm-eaten word after சாசமஅ seems to have been (கொண்ட).

Line 2. Between அச் and ஒன்றும ·8 in. has been eaten away. About half a dozen symbols are thereby lost. I restore the lost portion as (ச க. இவ்வச்ச)

Line 3. 3·5 inches at the beginning of this line, and 3·4 inches at the end are lost. The lower half of ள் is still visible at the beginning. I fill up the lacunae and read the line thus: (ள்பட்ட நிலத்தின் ஒற்றி முதலில் சேர்க்க இசைந்தோம்). இவ்வச்சொன்றும் முன்குடுத்துப் பின் (எழுதின ஒற்றி ஓலையில் ஏற்றி எழுதாதே விட்டதாக்கு)

Line 4. There is a lacuna of 1·8 inches between இ and குணவன். I supply (ங்கரப் பொதுக் கொறுக்கைக்குழி). கொறுக்கை is a kind of grass.

2·1 inches at the end of this line is lost. My reconstruction of this portion is (ஓலை எழுதினபோது கொண்டி).

Line 5. The case ending க்கு after இவனு is visible through a magnifier.

The upper half of one inch of writing at the end, after க்கும், has broken off. It can be re-constructed as (இவ்வழிக்கல).

Lines 6 & 7 are intact.

Line 8. 3·1 inches at the beginning of this line is lost. The name of the writer of the document, followed by ஆன (=alias) must have occupied that space. It is impossible to find out that name.

Kottar mentioned in this document seems to be Ptolemy's Kottiara.

III

As usual in such insruments the obverse of the palm-leaf bears at the top the first two lines, and at the bottom the end of the document, which end in the present specimen consists only of one short line 6 inches long.

Unlike the rest of it the line or lines of the last portion of such a document begin from near the tail end of the ola, so that the top and bottom lines on the obverse side run in opposite directions.

Lines 3 to 7 of the present document almost fill the reverse of the ola, the breadth of it being 1 inch. The length of a full line of writing is 10·3 inches, with a margin of about 2·5 inches at the thick end and 1·5 in. at the tail end of the leaf.

IV

On Thursday 17th July 1930, in the evening, the author of the present article visited the Cholapuram temple near Nagercoil along with Mr. R. Chidambarakrishna Aiyar, and in the course of their inspection of the inscriptions there discovered on the southern wall of the temple, two which were engraved in Tamil characters similar to those of the ola of 448 M. E. dealt with in the article. On closer examination the dates of the two lithic records were found to be 428 and 440 M. E., not far removed from 448. Much to their surprise they found in the record of 428 M. E. the name Gunavan Vadukan, alias Rajendra Chola Vaisravanan exactly as it is in the ola of 448 discovered by Mr. Desivinayagam Pillai. Most probably the two names of 428 and 448 M. E. represent one and the same individual.

The text of the first 9 lines of the inscription (of 428) as deciphered by the two discoverers is given below.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ. கொல்லம் ௪௱௨௰அ மா ண்

2. டைமீன ஞாயிறு ௰௭ம் தியதியும் தெ

3. சமியும் செவ்வாய்க்கிழமையும் பெற்ற பூச

4. த்தினர் திருக்கோட்டாறான மும்முடி சோழநல்லூ

5. ர் உடையார் ராஜேந்திர சோழீசுவர முடைய நாய

6. னார் கோயிலில் திருக்கோட்டாறான சோழ கேரள

7. புரத்து குணவன் வடுகனான ராஜேந்தி ர சோழ வைசிர

8. வணனேன் இந் நாயனார் கோயிலில் எ ழுந்தருளிவி...

9. பெரியதேவர் நாயனார்க்கும்

The words கையில் குடுத்த appearing above and below the ola in the block opposite page 309 are reproduced in facsimile from an estampage of the inscription of 440 M. E. supplied by Mr. Chidambarakrishna Aiyar.

—T. K. Joseph.

Ancient Forts at Kalkulam and Udayagiri.

(By S. Desivinayagam Pillai.)

The *neettu* or royal writ edited below was found among the palmyra-leaf records in the archives of Vanikaraman Mudaliar, popularly known as the Periaveettu Mudaliar, of Azhakiapandiapuram, a populous village 7 miles to the north of Nagercoil, in South Travancore. Its language is Malayalam, or rather a West Coast dialect of Tamil. The script employed is a local variety of the Vattezhuthu alphabet called Malayamai in Tamil, and Malayalma in Malayalam.

The document under consideration discloses the important fact that the construction of the forts at Kalkulam and Udayagiri was first planned and begun in or before the year 776 M. E. (1600 A. D.), and that they were at that time nothing more than an affair of mud and thatch. It also reveals to us that the people of Nanchinad have richly contributed towards the erection of both the above redoubts by paying a cess of one fanam on every ma (மா) of land under cultivation.

That Kalkulam became a fortified town by the year 795 M. E., has been proved beyond all doubt by Mr. Rajaraja Varma's "Travancore Dynastic Records" published in the *K. S. Papers*, Series I, page 23. The following extract from John Nieuhoff's 'Voyages and Travels' (1664 A. D.) given in the *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, pp.308 and 309 supplies additional evidence on the point: "Kalkolang (Kalkulam)is a very large city, being a league and a half long, upon the confines of the Neyk (Naik) of Madure. It is situate upon a high hill, 3 leagues from Tengepatnam (Tengappattanam), and 12 from Koulang (Quilon); being on one side strengthened by inaccessible mountains, on the other by a wall, the undermost part of which is of stone, the uppermost of brick-work, in all 24 feet high; the royal palace stands at the west end being surrounded by a stone wall. On the east side you see the ruins of an old castle, built on the top of a hill, fortified with a triple wall. Kalkolang is the chief residence of the king who constantly keeps a garrison of 10,000 Negroes here to secure it against the Neyk of Madure whose power is much dreaded here." From all this it may easily be inferred that the granite structures that we now find in the said two places are only the old mud walls (of about 1600 A. D.) rendered more secure or replaced with stones in subsequent years, especially during the troublous times of Marthanda Varma the Great and his faithful Captain Eustachius De Lannoy.

The King who issued the royal writ was no doubt Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma who ruled over Venad from 767 M. E., to 784 M. E., (See *K. S, Papers*, Series, I, pp. 6 and 9 No. 7.) His inscriptions are available in several places in South Travancore. He was the son of Queen Umayamma born in the Rohini Nakshatra. His own natal star is known to be Jyeshtha. He had two brothers named Aditya Varma and Rama Varma. His two wives were Eraiyumakkutty Amma the elder, and Eraiyumakkutty Amma the younger (see *T. A. S.* Vol. I,p. 177). A careful study of his inscriptions and edicts like the present one cannot fail to impress one

that he was a just and wise ruler, easily accessible to his subjects and ever ready to redress their grievances. The rules he promulgated for the distribution of water to the paddy fields in Nanchinad during seasons of drought, for the collection of revenue dues from the ryots, and for the constitution and conduct of Village Panchayats deserve to be marked, studied and applied by the enlightened Governments of the present day. Ravi Varma was a great scholar and devout worshipper of the holy feet of Sri Padmanabha. He made the sixteen great gifts including Tulapurushadanam and thereby earned for himself the title of Kulasekharapperumal (*T. A. S.* Vol. I, pp. 178 & 179). The new temples he erected and the old ones he splendidly repaired or enlarged, besides the rich endowments he made to many of them, are standing monuments to his genuine piety and devotion. Happy must have been the people who were fortunate enough to be shepherded by such a god-fearing and worldly-wise sovereign as our Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma.

TEXT.

1. நாஞ்சிநாட்டில் வடவகைதென்வீதி உள்பட்ட பெரும்பற்று சங்கேதம் மங்கலம் முதெல் மணக்குடி வரெ

2. ஒள்ள நாட்டாரும் தேசத்தொள்ளவரும் கூட நின்று கற்குளத்து கோட்டை வெயிக்கின்ற வகைக்

3. கும் உதயகிரிகோட்டெ வெயிக்கின்ற வகைக்கும் அகழுவெட்டின்ற வகைக்கும் கோட்ட மேயின்ற வகைக்கு

4. கம்புகால் வெட்டின்ற வகைக்கும் ஓல கொள்ளின்ற வகைக்கும் கூட எழுநூற்று எழுபத்தாறுமாண்டு

5. கார் முதெல்க்கு பூவு ஒன்றுக்கு பெரும்பற்று சங்கேதம் உள்பட மாததால் பணம் ஒன்று ஆக நதிரு தருகையால்

6. இந்நாள் முதெல்க்கு கல்க்குளத்து கோட்டைக்கும் உதயகிரி கோட்டைக்கும் நீக்கி இனி வையிக்கின்(ற)

7 கோட்டைகள்க்கும் கோட்டை வேலைக்கு என்று நாஞ்சிநாட்டு பெரும்பற்று சங்கேதம் உள்பட்ட தேசத்து நி(ன்று)

8. மாவில் என்கிலும் (இருந்த குடி) என்கிலும் கொற்று இட்டு என்கிலும் நாட்டாரெயும் அவரிடே ஆளடியாரெயும்

9. கூட கோட்டை வேலைக்கு கரை எற்றின்றதில்ல என்றும் இவ மேற்படி ஆண்டு காத்திகை மாதம்

10. இருபத்து ஒன்றும் தியதி கர்பித்தமைக்கு இச்செய்தி சொல்லி நாஞ்சிநாட்டில் வடவகை தென்வீதி உள்பட்ட

11. பெரும்பற்று சங்கேதம் உள்பட்ட தெசத்தில் நாட்டார்க்கும் காணியாளர்க்கும் நீட்டு

12. எழுதிவிடு என்று திருவுள்ளமாய நீட்டு.

Translation.

Whereas the Nattars and the inhabitants of the Desams between Mangalam and Manakkudy which embrace the perumpattu and sanketam lands (State and Temple lands) in the northern and southern divisions of Nanchinad have met together and, for meeting the expenses connected with the erection of the Kalkulam and Udayagiri forts, the digging of moats (around them), the felling of poles and posts and the buying of palm-leaves for thatching the walls, agreed to pay every harvest season beginning from the kanni crop (கார்) of 776 M. E,, a Nazir at the rate of one fanam per ma (மா) of perumpattu and sanketam lands, it is commanded on the 26th day of Kartikai of the said year that from this day forward the personal services of the Nattars or of their servants or slaves shall not be impressed in

the country comprising the State and Temple lands, either from the fields or from the inhabitied quarters or by paying wages, for work in connection with the construction of the Kalkulam and Udayagiri forts or of any others that may be raised hereafter. And this is the royal writ graciously issued to the Nattars and Kanialars of the perumpattu and sanketam lands in both the northern and southern divisions of Nanchinad in pursuance of the above command given on 21st Kartikai of the said year.

NOTES.

1. For a description of the forts the reader is referred to *Tr. State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 201-203.
2. *Nattars* (நாட்டார்)—Literally the word means the people of a *nad* or country. But in the early records relating to Nanchinad it is found used in a very restricted sense to denote the Vellalas who form the land-owning class or the original inhabitants of the place.
3. *Desam* (தேசம்)—'Administrative, subdivision of Proverti or Adhigaram.
   (*Tr. Land Renenne Manual*, Vol. IV. Glossary)

   Compare the use of the word in the following:

   "கொல்லம் எாஉயஉளுல தைமீ" 0கவ நாஞ்சிநாட்டு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடிவரை தோவாளைக்கு மேற்கு பன்றிவாய்க்காலுக்கு கிழக்கு உள்பட்டபெருமாள் சீபர்பஞபபெருமாள் தெசமாய் உள்ள ஊரார்கும் பெருமாள் ஆதிகேசவப்பெருமாள் தேசமாய் உள்ள ஊரார்கும்... அழகியநம்பிதெசமாய் உள்ள ஊராற்கும் உடையார் சிவிந்திர முடைய நயினர் தேசமாய்உள்ள ஊரார்கும் நயினர் பூதைப்பாண்டிசிவாமுடைய் நயினர் தேசமாய் உள்ள ஊராற்கும் மற்றுமுள்ள தெய்வதாய பிரமதாயமாய் உள்ள குடிபதிக்கும்"—(Rock inscription at Manathittai).
4. *Mangalam* (மங்கலம்)—a small village near Ponmanai, 9 miles to the north of Padmanabhapuram.
5. *Manakkudi* (மணக்குடி)— a small seaport near the Thamarakkulam salt-factories in the Taluq of Agasteeswaram.
6. *Perumpattu* (பெரும்பற்று)— 'Corresponds to Pandaravakaippattam or Sircar's own—a name still used in the Shencottah revenue accounts'. (*Tr. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 303). State lands.
7. *Sanketam* (சங்கேதம்).— The term is applied to the property of Sri Padmanabhaswamy (*Tr. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 303). It also means temple lands generally.
8. வடவகை தென்வீதி. In early records the two divisions of Nanchinad are found jointly referred to as வடவகை தென்வீதி or வடமீதி தென்மீதி, the Northern and Southern parts.

   (a) 'நாடு வடவகை மூன்று பிடாகையும் தென்வீதி படைபற்று பிடாகையும்......' (an unpublished *neettu* dated 890 M. E.)

   (b) "நாடு மங்கலமுதல் மணக்குடிவரை இரண்டு வகை நாடும்'—(*T. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 217)
9. *Kalkulam*. The modern name is Padmanabhapuram. The genesis of the latter is not quite clear. May it be a mythological perversion of Padappunad, the ancient name of Kalkulam? Or may it be derived form Padmanabha, the name of the tutelary deity of the Travancore kings? Mr. Shankunni Menon identifies Sri Vardhamanapuram with our Padmanabhapuram. His reasons for the same are not evident.

10. *Udayagiri.* The word means the Eastern mountain from behind which the sun rises. Of course our Udayagiri hills are situate just to the east or south-east of Padmanabhapuram, the ancient captal of Travancore.

11. *Nazir* (நஜிர்)— An Urdu word. It means a present or offering made to a king or superior officer.

12. மாத்தால்பணம் ஒன்று = one fanam per *ma* of land.

மாத்தால் (மா + அத்து + ஆல்) = per *ma*. Compare

"ஆக நிலம் மூன்றுமாவுக்கு இவ்வாண்டு கார் முதல் கடமை இறுக்குமிடத்து மாத்தால் நெல்பதிங்கலமாக பூவொன்றுக்கு நெல்லு முப்பதின்கலமும்". (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, p. 143).

Ma (மா) is a land measure $\frac{13}{40}$ of an acre or $32\frac{1}{2}$ cents or $2\frac{1}{2}$ parahs of land. (See the *Indian Autiquary*, June 1897, p. 143).

"பதினெட்டடிக் கோலால் பதினறுக்குப் பதினறு கொண்டது ஒரு மாவாக."—*S. I. I.* V, p 139.

In line 8 the word *ma* (மா) is used in its general sense of a field.

'தொம்பங்மா = the field of Tomban. *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 136).

13. காணியாளன் = proprietor of land.
காணியாளன் (காணி + ஆளன்),
காணி = நிலம், land.
ஆளன் = ஆளுபவன், one who rules; possessor.

கணியாட்சி—That which is held as free or hereditary property.

(*Tamil Lexicon*)
— S. D. P.

This document affords one more proof of the spirit of independence and self-respect of the ancient people of Nanchinad, who seem to have been slow to reconcile themselves to the rule of the Venad kings. According to the present record they boldly objected to forced labour, and were quite willing to pay a Nazir every year to get themselves, their servants and slaves exempted from personal service in connection with the constuction of the king's forts. The Nattukkoottams or popular assemblies of the ancient Nanchinadians and the resolutions passed at them are well known.

—T. K. J.

A Tradition from Valliyur.

(By S. Desivinayagam Pillai).

Valliyur is a place in Tinnevelly some 12 miles away from Aramboly and famous for its temple of Subramonia. Centuries ago it was the seat of a royal family closely connected with that of Travancore. This is evidenced by both tradition and history. Folklore and ballads describing the battles in which they were engaged and the military valour they exhibited are current even now in the country parts. Ruins of forts and palaces and other relics of historic interest are found scattered both at Valliyur and its suburbs. Not far off from this place is situated a village known by the name of Kottaiyadivilai (கோட்டையடிவிளை). The tank called Ammachchikulam (அம்மச்சிக்குளம்) close by the same has its own tale to tell. The temple of Bhadrakali is another remnant reminding us

of the past history of the Valliyur kings. Tradition has it that the last surviving member of the said royal family was a woman and that she, having a high regard for the Venad kings and their charitable institutions made over all her territories to them. Thus a branch of the Venad House happened to settle themselves at Valliyur and rule the country around for a long time. It is said that the members of this branch adopted even the customs and manners of the people amidst whom their lot was cast so much so that when a necessity arose for the Venad kings to adopt a boy or girl into their family they were not willing to select one from the Valliyur branch on that account. Later on a war is said to have broken out between the Valliyur princes and a neighbouring chief, the cause and final results of which are as given below.

The kingdom of Valliyur was at one time under a Pentarchy and the five brothers composing it were collectively known as Aivarajakkal (ஐவராஜாக்கள்). During this time there lived on the borders of the Mahendragiri hills of South Travancore a people who went by the name of Vadugars.[1] They, it is said, were the bitterest enemies of the royal family of Valliyur never leaving an opportunity to pick a quarrel with the members thereof. Thus days passed and the Valliyur kings had to suffer many a defeat at the hands of those people. Finally the Vaduga leader offered peace on condition that the eldest member of the royal family should marry his daughter and make her the chief queen. But the Rajas were not prepared to enter into a marriage alliance with these bands of robbers as they were called. This provoked the Vadugars very much and they besieged the fort of Valliyur, and the siege, they say, lasted more than a year. During this time the Rajas and their people did not experience any hardship whatever as they had enough supply of water and other necessaries of life by the grace of their tutelary deity—the goddess Bhadrakali. The Vadugars having learned the secret of the success of their enemies tried to defeat them by a stratagem. They bribed a Kurava who was well-known for his powers of divination, and made him enter into the fort with certain instructions. Accordingly the treacherous sooth-sayer sought and obtained an interriew with the princes inside the fort. He told them that it was the presence of the Kali (காளி) temple in their midst that had caused all this calamity and that its removal from them to some place outside the fort would bring them victory. The poor princes were easily deceived and the fane of their family goddess was shifted to a spot some distance off from the northern gate. As a consequence of this sacrilegious act on their part the Valliyur kings were thoroughly worsted in the battle that ensued, and the whole country fell into the hands of the enemies. All the four younger brothers escaped in the night and ran off to Chorimuthaiyancoil (சொரி முத்தையன் கோயில்), where they are said to have jumped into a ravine just in front of the (பூதத்தான்) Bhuthathan temple. The elder brother was taken prisoner and carried away in a closed palanquin to Vadugachchi Madil (வடுகச்சி மதில் வடுகச்சிமலை) or Vadugachchi Malai where preparations for his marriage with the enemy chief's daughter were in progress. He did not know anything about it until at last the palanquin bearers, after a long and tedious journey, overjoyed at the sight of their destination, exclaimed—

> The village is in sight now,
> The marriage will be over now,
> Feasts and presents are ours now,
> Merry, merry, make merry !

On hearing this the king understood the real situation. He hated the marriage with all his heart. What could he do then? He was in the enemies' hands. Suddenly he made up his mind, he searched for his inseparable companion—the dagger and sheathed it deep into his heart. At last the palanquin reached Vadugachchi Madil (வடுகச்சி மதில்) and the villagers were all waiting there to receive the royal bridegroom. But alas ! there was no sign of life inside

1. Another version gives the name of the people as Kannadians (Kanarese people).

the covered palanquin. The 'curtain was removed only to find the mortal remains of a brave warrior within. The sad news spread like wild fire and reached the ears of the chieftain's daughter. It was too much for her to endure, and she followed the prince to the next world by committing suicide on the spot. Tradition says that both of them were buried together in the same grave with all the pomp and ceremony worthy of a royal couple.

The whole story lies enshrined in the Tamil saying அடிச்சு முடிச்சு வடிகச்சி கலியாணம்.

The tradition is not without a historical basis. Read *History of Travancore* by Sankunni Menon, p. 94. and the *Indian Antiquary* (1896), pp. 190-192.

Amman Kathai, a Tamil song existing in MS. form has the following specific date.

நற்கொண்ட கொல்லம் நானூற்றி நாற்பத்திரண்டா
*மாண்டில் நயந்த சிங்கம்
பொற்கொண்ட தியதியில் பதினொன்று வெள்ளி
யில் பொங்கு கிரி
சொற் கண்டு வாழும் புகழ் வள்ளியூரைத்தோன்ற
வைத்தான்
மற்கண்ட தென்புயனே குலசேகரமன்னவனே.
(அம்மன் கதை—தாழக்குடி).

I. e., Valliyur was founded by Kulasekhara Mannavan on Friday, 11th Chingam 442 M.E.

—S. D. P.

Vadugan.

(Note by T. K. Joseph.)

Vadugan is the Tamil and Malayalam form of Badaga borrowed by English. Badagas of South Indian history are said to have been Telugus from the North (vadakku). In Malayalam vadugan is a low class of Syrian Christians in Malabar. Kongan (= a man of the Kongu country) is another low class among them. Vadugan and Kongan Christians of Malabar may perhaps be descendants of those who came originally from the Telugu and Kongu countries.

The name Gunavan Vadugan occurs in the ola of 448 M. E. and the lithic inscription of 428 M. E. (See pp. 309 and 312 *ante*). The name Chattan Padugan, the second member of which can also be read as Vadugan, occurs in a lithic inscription of the 8th-10th century A. D., at the foot of the cross in front of the Talekkad Roman Catholic Church in Cochin. (See my article in *Indian Antiquary* for February 1928 for text and facsimile of the inscription). There is this proverb in Tamil using the word vadugan: கண்டால் காமாக்ஷி நாயக்கன், காணாவிட்டால் வடுகப்பயல், i. e. people call a man (a Telugu) respectfully Kamakshi *Nayakkan* in his presence, but Vaduga chap behind his back. Could Vaduga be from Sanskrit *vatuka*, meaning a lad, chap, fellow, or blockhead? May it not be related to the Tamil word vadakku? There is the word *baduva* used in almost the same sense as *vaduga*. Baduva is very often heard in Urdu, Tamil, and sometimes in Malayalam, especially in South Travancore.

Iravikorttan's Cranganore copper-plate of A. D. 1320 mentions the drum of the Vadugas (*Vadugappara*).

—T. K. J.

:o:

In (the nth) year of our Emperor (X) the most illustrious Caesar, I, (A) son (or daughter) of (B) my mother, being of the city of (C) have set free my slave (D) aged (e) years, of middle height, fair, having a long face and a scar on the right foot, his mother being (F), for (g) drachmae of coined silver. I hereby agree voluntarily and of my own free will and irrevocably, to the freedom of the said (D) under sanction of Zeus, Earth and Sun (the deed being drawn up in the street), and the said (D) can henceforth have and hold himself to be a free man since I have here freed him into this liberty wherewith I have made him free. (Cf. Galatians 5. 1.).

The customary formula in an emancipation deed of about the beginning of the Christian era read something like the above, which may be compared with the emancipation deed of Bailey and Peet in *K. S. P.* 5, p. 276 *ante*. (See *Papyrus Edmondstone* = *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. IV, p. 202).

—T. K. J

Note on the Relation

between Kashmir and Kerala.

(By Pandit S. Anand Koul.)

There are some evidences to show that there were cultural connections between Kashmir and Kerala in ancient times. Kerala astrology, said to have been originally introduced from Kerala, is studied in Kashmir.

There is a tradition in Maharashtra that white men like Kashmiri Brahmans got drifted in a storm on the Malabar Coast and, being supposed to be dead, were, however, found alive while attempted to be cremated. Probably it was a large number of fugitives from Kashmir in the time when Hindus here were being forced to embrace Islam. They might have been quite exhausted and emaciated as if looking dead after their long and tedius journey. The terms of this tradition are, I believe, a grossly exaggerated form of expression.

During the reign of Sultan Shahab-ud-Din (1359-78 A.D.), Mir Saiyid 'Ali came into Kashmir from Hamdan (Persia) and engaged himself in proselytising. The Brahmans were firm in strictly keeping their caste. Death's dark vale had absolutely no terrors for them. There remained only eleven families, all others either having been slain or forcibly converted or having fled the country. Subsequently in the long and exceptionally peaceful rule of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin (1420-70 A.D.) who was noted for religious toleration, Brahmans from the Deccan and other parts of India (among which might have been Kerala) came back here. The Koul family came from Mithila or Tirhut (Durbhanga). The Dhar family came fron Ellichpur.

From time to time many plucky and adventurous souls, with a vision broke home-ties while tyrannies had become rampant in Kashmir and left the country for other parts of India and it is possible that some of them went to Kerala and settled there, and thus there might have been then established cultural relations between the two countries.

In the works dealing with the rites of the Shakta or Tantric school in Kashmir, references are often met with to certain doctrines, amongst whichKerala doctrine is believed to be one.

In ancient times, the religious system based on Shaiva Yoga was the object of much study in Kashmir which influenced the whole Peninsula of India so much so that Ramanuja the leader of a rival Vaishnava belief, travelled from Madras to Kashmir, with the special object of combating the hostile creed at its fountain head. —A. K.

NOTE.

There is not the least doubt that there was a close and continuous cultural connection between Cashmere and Kerala. Two events in the history of Sanskrit literature will illustrate this. When Mankhuka, the author of Srikantha Charita, published his Alankara-Sarvaswa, it was taken over by the pandits of Cashmere to Quilon (in Travancore) at the end of the 13th century A. D., before Sangramadhira Ravi Varma, who asked Samudrabandha, one of his court poets, to write an enhaustive commentary thereon. Another important work of Mankhuka on Alankarahas been recently discovered for the first time in Kerala and it has been taken up for publication by the Curator (of Sanskrit MSS., Trivandrum). Again, Yudhishthiravijaya, the premier Sanskrit yamakakavya of Vasudeva Bhattatiri was commented upon by Rana-Kantha of Cashmere. These will show that the cultural connection between the two countries began earlier than the 14th century. It is quite possible that Sankaracharya visited Cashmere just as Ramanuja did at a later date.

—S. Parameswara Aiyar, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

Note on the Pahlavi Signatures

to the Quilon Copper-Plates.

(By C. P. T. Winckworth.)

The Pahlavi signatures to the Quilon copper-plate grant (of about A. D, 880) occupy eighteen lines, five of which are damaged, with the resultant loss of at least one proper name. Each signature is introduced by the phrase *menok man*, "the spiritual I," and is followed by the words *patas gokas ham*, "I am witness to it." This form of attestation is quite regular, and calls for no comment, except that it shows a few unimportant variants in respect of orthography. The number of signatories is ten, of each of whom both the *praenomen* and the *cognomen* are given, the latter being connected to the former by means of the simple *izafat* that expresses the relationship of son to father.

In lines 5, 11, 15 and 17 there occurs a word that may well be a transcription of the Syriac *malpan*, "teacher" ; for the Pahlavi from correctly reproduces the Syriac consonants. Such a title is not unexpected, and it may be compared with *Suryaya*, " Syrian" on the Crosses[1] . Of considerable interest is the fact that in lines 5 and 11 this word has a suffixed *s*, which can be nothing else than the possessive pronominal suffix of the third person singular. This means that there are two witnesses each of whom has his signature endorsed by that of "*his* teacher".

The reading of the proper names themselves presents serious difficulties to one who is dependent upon the facsimiles hitherto published. Those reproduced in Volumes III. and IV. of the *Indian Antiquary* evidently contain many inaccuracies, and the one published in Volume VII. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* is quite worthless. The transcription into conventional printed characters given by West in Volume IV. of the New Series of the same *Journal* contains readings that cannot be reconciled with the facsimiles in the *Indian Antiquary.*

In face of these obstacles I can make no sure progress in the decipherment of the proper names. I certainly cannot endorse West's statement that "the names can be read without much difficulty"; but I share his view that they "are not readily identified with any existing names." Many of these names are so cursive, that the margin of possible error in analysing their ligatures is enormous. Although I have made reasonable allowance for illegible handwriting and faulty reproduction I have not yet arrived at a single reading that can be adjuged certain. Were we dealing with well attested Persian names, however illegibly written, we should expect to obtain considerable help from Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch.* But this valuable *onomasticon* has afforded me, as yet, no help at all.

The *cognomen* of the eighth witness is the only name that is *prima facie* Persian; for it is a composite name that clearly has *Ohrmasd* for its second member. Its first member looks like a verbal form in *t*. This is what we should expect, on the analogy of the well known name *Dat-Orhmazd*; but I cannot obtain any certain reading from the facsimiles.

1. The title malpan was in actual use by Malabari Christians (e. g. in Swanston's Account in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 1)

A comparison of line 1 with line 15 is very instructive. In both lines there seems to occur the same name, which I shall provisionally call *X*. It is the *praenomen* of the first witness. Is it also that of the other *witness*, the ninth witness? I think not. There is, of course, no reason why the first and the ninth witness should not be namesakes in respect of their *praenomina*. But it is at least a remarkable coincidence that the forms of the corresponding *cognomina* should have so much in common as to lead one to suppose that they are calligraphic variants, probably somewhat distorted and mutilated in the facsimiles. Certainly the same witness would not attest twice, both as first and as ninth signatory.

If "*X* son of *Y*" really does appear twice, there is but one solution of the difficulty, which lies in the interpretation of the syntactical position of the word *malpan* in line 15. Here it is introduced by the usual *menok man* and immediately *precedes* the name *X*, whereas elsewhere this word always *follows* the proper name Were this *malpan* a title of *X*, we should naturally expect to find if appended to the name, not prefixed. Moreover, if *X* bears this title in line 15, why does he not also bear it in line 1? Now, it is perfectly legitimate to supply an unwritten *izafat* in Pahlavi when the context demands it. If we supply one between *malpan* and *X*, thereby making "*X* son of *Y*" into a dependent genitive, the syntactical difficulty, as well as the apparent inconsistency in the employment of *malpan* is removed. For in that case the ninth witness is understood to be simply "the 'teacher' of *X* son of *Y*," the first witness. The idea of an anonymous witness is certainly strange; but how otherwise can we interpret the data of the text? But it must not be forgotten that the validity of these arguments is subject to the accuracy, or the inaccuracy, of the facsimiles in reproducing lines 1 and 15.

West transcribes *X*, in both places where it occurs, as a name that might be read *Yakran*. I cannot accept this transcription, despite the fact that proper names beginning with *Yak*, such as *Yakrang*, *Yakru*, *Yaksan*, are by no means uncommon in Persian. The first syllable of the name is certainly not *Yak* on the facsimiles, which clearly show *Af*. By restoring a single curve to the second syllable we obtain *ras*. In all probability, therefore, the *praenomen* of the first witness is *Afras*. The facsimiles do not permit of my reading the accompanying *cognomen* with certainty; but it seems to me that they show corruptions of a longish word terminating in *t*.

The name of the first witness is followed, at the beginning of line 2, by a badly inscribed word, the first letter of which is certainly *s*. I can readily restore this to read *Suryaya*, "Syrian"; so readily, indeed, that only anxiety about the accuracy of the facsimiles restrains me from pronouncing the restoration certain.

The above evidence is strongly in favour of the first witness' being "Afras son of... .. .. t, the Syrian."

It is very significant that, like Afras, there are two other witnesses, the second and the fifth, each of whom has "*his* teacher". The inference is that these two individuals occupy the same kind of position as Afras: all three are accompanied by some kind of assistant, or subordinate, who bears the title "teacher". It is of extreme importance to decipher the names of these two individuals, the second and fifth witnesses. For they and Afras constitute a triad that one cannot but associate with the three Nestorian Persians who

came to Malabar in A. D. 823, especially if Afras is to be identified with that one of them who is known to tradition as '*Prot*'.[2] Mr. T. K. Joseph's belief that "the names of Sabor, Aprot and Maruvan Sabr Iso will very likely be in the Pahlavi portion of the copper-plates" may yet be justified. But, first of all, new facsimiles will be required.

—C. P. T. W.

NOTES.

I

In his letter to me dated Cambridge, 14th May, 1930, Mr. Winckworth makes the following additional remarks.

"I regret to say that I can do nothing more with the Pahlavi signatures. They are so ill-written, that I suspect the existence of gross blunders made by a copyist ignorant of Pahlavi. I have tried every possible reading, but without success. The improved facsimile (which I sent to him) has not helped at all, I am sorry to say. I must reluctantly leave my note (printed above) received by you on 12th November 1929 as it stands, but with *grave* doubts about the possible occurrence of the name of Afras son of Chaharbuxt in the places I suggested.

What you quote about my readings "malpan" can still stand. The new facsimile does not invalidate this reading at all. (I suggested to Mr. Winckworth Maruvan and some other words instead of Malpan. *Maruvan* Sabriso occurs in the Tamil portion of the plates).

My only hope of doing something positive with these signatures is to compare the script with that of any other contemporary examples of Pahlavi writing from more or less the same locality containing readable names".

The Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri caves, Bombay, though of a much later period, may be of some help.

II

Dr. F. C. Burkitt wrote to me as follows about the Pahlavi signatures.

A. "On the one hand his (Mr. Winckworth's) new reading of some of the names is plausible, even probable, and if ultimately confirmed, of great historical interest because it would connect the setting up of the crosses (the Pahlavi-inscribed ones at St. Thomas Mount and in Travancore) both in date and personalities with the signatories to the copper-plates ;......I think the name of 'Afra(s)—i—(Chahar)b(okh)t Sur(yaya)' can be made out with considerable probability".

—His letter to me from Cambridge, 23rd Oct. 1929.

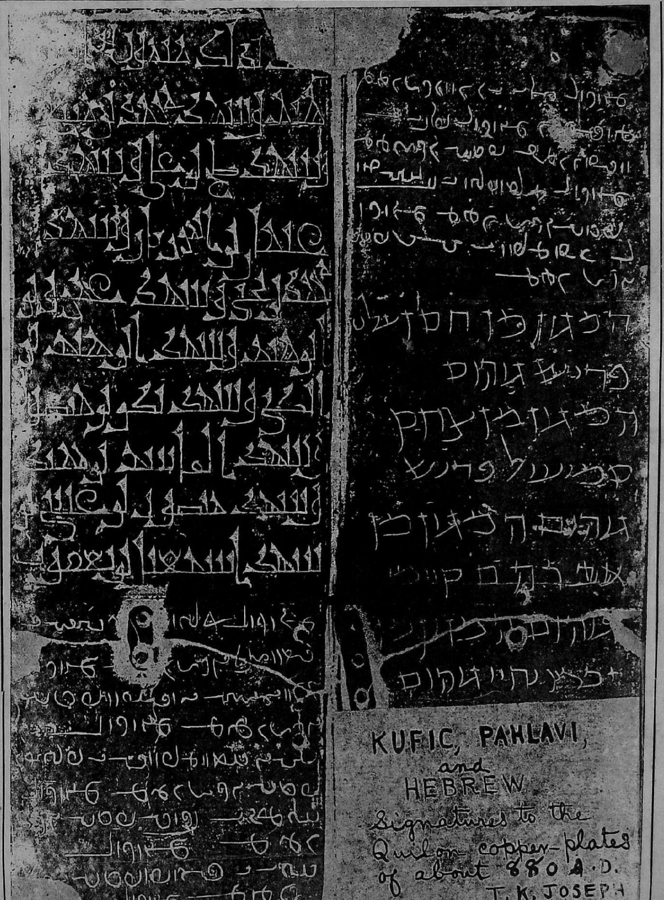
B. "He (Mr. Winckworth) has the facsimile of Pahlavi signatures, but the last time I saw him he told me that he feared the plates themselves were too badly cut to be read with any certainty. The plates — cut by a graver to whom only the Malayalam script was familiar — represent at the end facsimiles of the handwriting of foreigners. The original handwriting was probably bad; the engraver did it unintelligently, so that the Arabic and Jewish hands are hardly legible ; and it is not likely that the Pahlavi is any better.

"It is a pity. But you can see for yourself the difference between the inscription on the Mount Cross, which is beautifully engraved, and the only difficulties it presents being our comparative ignorance of the language and the inherent ambiguities of the script; and on the other hand the feebleness and irregularity of the facsimilied signatures to the plates. I think they were never really legible, not even when the plates were new,"

—His letter to me from Cambridge, 26th April 1930.

— T. K. Joseph.

2. Land's Syriac text has *Prot*. Gouvea has *Prodh*, La Croz *Firouz*. Burnell (from Mr. Ippan, a Malayalam writer) *Aphrottu*. Swanston (JRAS. i, 178) calls "Shabur and Prob" *Saul and Ambrose*.


KUFIC, PAHLAVI,
and
HEBREW
Signatures to the
Quilon copper-plates
of about 880 A.D.
T. K. JOSEPH
26-7-1930.

Arabic (Kufic) Signatures on the Copper-Plate.

TRANSLITERATION.

1. wasahid lidhalik Maimun ibn Ibra—
2. him wasahid Muhammad ibn Mani'
3. wasahid [?Sulh] ibn 'Ali wasahid
4. 'Uthman ibn Al-Marziban wasahid
5. Muhammad ibn Yahya wasahid 'Amr ibn
6. Ibrahim wasahid Ibrahim ibn
7. At-Tay wasahid Bakr ibn Mansur
8. wasahid Al-Kasim ibn Hamid
9. wasahid Mansur ibn 'Isa wa—
10. Sahid Ism'ail ibn Ya'kub

TRANSLATION.

And witness to this MAIMUN son of Ibrahim, and MUHAMMAD son of Mani' and (?SULH) son of 'Ali, and 'UTHMAN son of al-Marziban, and MUHAMMAD son of Yahya, and 'AMR son of Ibrahim, and IBRAHIM son of at-Tay, and BAKR son of Mansur, and AL-KASIM son of Hamid, and MANSUR son of 'Isa, and ISMA'IL son of Ya'Kub.

[Line 8 the scribe has written Mamid for Hamid, and line 9 he has written *bn* for *wa*=(and).]

—F. C. Burkitt.

NOTE.

In his letter to me dated 18th January, 1930, Dr. Alfonse Mingana makes the following remarks:

"Sulh (l. 3) should be Salih. The spelling Marzuban is better than Marziban" (l. 4).

—T. K. J.

Hebrew Signatures on the Copper-Plate.

The Hebrew letters are very badly cut, evidently by a workman totally ignorant of the script, and there are several mistakes. The names are those of Jews and the lettering is Hebrew, but the language is a sort of Pesian. For the translation, see Haug's *Essay on Pahlavi*, p. 81- f.

1. :HMGN MN HSN 'LY	Hereby I, HASAN 'ALI
2.· PDYS GHYM	to it am witness.
3. HMGN MN YS-HK	Hereby I, ISAAC
4. BN MYK'L PD-YS	ben Michael to it
5. GHYM HMGN MN	am witness. Hereby I,
6. 'BRHM BN * * *	ABRAHAM ben * *
7. GHYM HMGN MN	am witness. Hereby I,
8. Y * * * GHYM	Y * * * * am witness.

—F. C. Burkitt.

Nepal and Kerala.

It will be good if some scholar in Nepal will deal at length with the relations between Nepal and Kerala in ancient days.

"In fact", says Ferguson "there are no two tribes in India except the Nayars (of Malabar) and the Newars (of Nepal) who have the same strange notions ....and that coupled with the architecture and other pecularities seems to point to a similarity of race which is both curious and interesting." "The connection between Malabar and Nepal had broken off probably more than 2000 years age. It is truly marvellous therefore that traces of the connection still linger in the language, customs, and style of architecture of the latter country, after the lapse of 20 centuries." (See *Kashmir & Kerala ante*).

It has to be noted also that Ahichchatra which according to tradition was the original home of Namburi Brahmin immigrants to Kerala (Malabar), is in Nepal, being modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District near the South-Western corner of Nepal.

—T. K. Joseph.

The Kerala Mamankam.

(By K. V. Krishna Aiyar, M. A., L. T.)

Of all the institutions of ancient Kerala the Mamankam festival alone has disappeared without leaving any trace of its former existence. It may cause not a little surprise to the present generation to be told a Mamankam festival was held at Tirunavay, near the present railway station at Tirur, once in twelve years, like the Kumbhakonam Mamankam held even now in the Maha-Magha (മാമാങ്കം) year; that it was celebrated in historic times under the auspices and at the expense of the Zamorin, that it attracted large crowds from the most distant parts of Kerala and beyond; and that in the splendour of its processions and the vast multitudes that gathered to witness them it came very near the quinquennial assemblies of Harsha of Kanouj on the banks of the Ganges at Prayag.

The Mamankam festival of A. D. 1755 was the last held in Kerala. Before the next cycle was completed the Zamorin had lost his throne and become an exile from his own land. Malabar as far as Chetwai in the south was overrun by the Mysoreans. The Zamorin could have saved himself by a timely submission. But he chose to walk in the path of honour. And in refusing to sacrifice a little he lost everything. In 1792 the East India Company obtained Malabar from Tippu, and the Zamorin returned to Calicut. His lands were restored to him but not his ancestral dignities. The represantative of the ancient Imperial House of Kerala which had given the law to the princes and peoples of Malabar thus became a Zamindar and political pensioner. In these circumstances the Mamankam could not be revived.

Like all things whose origin is not known and whose significance is in consequence misunderstood, the Mamankam has been pressed to yield evidence in support of a preconceived theory. Thus it is regarded as the indisputable evidence of the existence of popular government in Kerala, the grand concourse of human beings on the sands of Tirunavay being looked upon as an open-air assembly discussing and deciding upon matters of common concern to Kerala. Though it is tempting to compare this gathering with the periodical gatherings of ancient Greece at Olympia and Delphi, the analogy cannot be carried far; for no general peace was proclaimed in Malabar before the festival as that which preceded the celebration of the Greek games. Some learned men, carried away by the mere accident of its twelve-yearly recurrence, trace the origin of the *Kanom* tenure to this festival, a tenure which was a creation of the British Indian courts.

Sir James Frazer has constructed on the slender basis of the Mamankam an ingenious theory of succession to kingship. According to him it was originally a device to ensure perpetual youth in the wielder of the sceptre. "Some peoples," says Sir James, "however appear to have thought it unsafe to wait even for the slightest symptom of decay and have preferred to kill the king while he was still in the full vigour of life. Accordingly they have fixed a term beyond which he might not reign, and at the close of which he must die, the term fixed upon being short enough to exclude the probability of his degenerating physically in the interval. In some

parts of Southern India the period fixed was twelve years. Formerly the Zamorin had to cut his throat in public at the end of a twelve-years' reign. But at the end of the seventeenth century the custom has been modified".(*The Golden Bough*, pp. 274—8). This became the privilege of the hero who could cut his way through the serried ranks of the thirty or forty thousand Nayars of Polanad who guarded the Zamorin's person.

Sir James's authority is Hamilton's account of the Mamankam of 1695 A. D. (See App. II). Hamilton was present at that time at Ponnani and could have easily sailed up the river to Tirunavay. But he did not do so though he 'heard the gunsfor two or three days and nights successively.' He compiled his account from hearsay long after the event, and in all probability it was based on a distorted version of Barbosa's narrative. (The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. II, p. 121, note).

It is unfortunate however that Logan and Padmanabha Menon should have lent the weight of their authority to Hamilton's fanatstic interpretation and derived the word Mamankam from *Maha*, great and *Makham*, sacrifice. The true reason for the appearance of *Ghavers* (ചാവേർ) during some of the festivals has thus been lost sight of, and the significance of the festival in the social and political life of Kerala misunderstood.

The word Mamankam (മാമാങ്കം) or Mamakam (മാമകം) is derived from *Magha Magha* (മാഘമാഘം) or the festival celebrated on the asterism *Magha* (മകം) in the month of *Magha* (മാഘം). But all *Magha-Maghams* (മാഘമാഘങ്ങൾ) were not important. Only the *Magha Magham* of the *Maha-Magha* (മഹാമാഘം) year was considered sacred. The festival, celebrated throughout the month of *Magha* ending on the asterism *Magha* came to be called the *Mamakam* or *Mamankam*.

The Maha-Magha year is one of the twelve years of the Lesser Barhaspatya cycle. "The *samvatsaras* of the twelve-year cycle," says Sewell (*Indian Chronography*, p. 65), "are quoted either after the name of the sign (Mesha, Vrishaba, etc.)in which Jupiter stood or after the names of the twelve lunar months, beginning with Asvina (Asvina, Karthika, etc,). In the latter case,that of the twelve-year cycle lunar month names, the names were sometimes distinguished by the prefix *Maha*, great, e. g, Maha Chaitra, Maha Vaisakha, etc." The year Maha Magha is thus defined by Lalla:—"When both the Moon and Jupiter are in the asterism *Magha* on the day of full moon of the month of *Magha*, then the year is called *Maha Magha*." (Quoted by Warren in his *Kalasankalita*, p. 27).

The year of Maha Magha was and is still deemed the most sacred of the twelve years of the lesser Jupiter cycle. For in that year on the asterism of Magha (മകം)in the month of Magha (മാഘം) the holy Ganges, it is the belief, decends into certain tanks and rivers and sanctifies them by her presence. Thousands of pilgrims still go to Kumbhakonam for the Mamankam festival to cleanse themselves by a dip in the great tank in front of the temple of Kumbheswaraswami. And the chief item in the festival is the *aarat* (ആറാട്ട്) or bath of the great god himself. According to a writer in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 15, the tank becomes holy at an auspicious moment indicated by the conjunction of certain celestial bodies and the goddess comes there to purify herself of the sins which hundreds and thousands of pilgrims had washed off in her waters.

The traditions about the Mamankam festival of Kerala at the beginning of the last century, when it had not been effaced from the memory of the people, indicate that it was a river festival. "It was celebrated," said the Zamorin in his statement (see Appendix I) to the East India Company, "in honour of Maha-Vishnu and of the holy river itself, whose sanctity was heightened by the descent of the holy Ganges from the north."

At the end of the seventeenth century there arose a doubt (see *Mamankam Song*, p. 74) as to the exact year in which this took place. The astrologers were divided between Karkadaga Vyalam and Chinga Vyalam. Bharani Tirunal Zamorin resolved therefore to celebrate it both in Karkadaga Vyalam (1694) and Chinga Vyalam (1695). The festival described by Hamilton was that of 1695 A. D.

One of the chief items in the festival was the *Neerattukuli* or the royal bath and the procession from the bathing pavilion in the river at Thirunavay to the temple and thence to the palace. And one of the many reasons which made people dare all the dangers of a long journey was the prospect of obtaining absolution from their sins by a bath in the holy river. (See *Mamankam Song*, p. 118).

The traditions preserved in the Keralolpatti (App. III *infra*) afford another evidence of the popular belief in the appearance of the northern Ganges in the southern Ganges at Thirunavay. The day fixed by Parasurama for the installation of the first Perumal was the day on which Goddess Ganga appeared at Thirunavay for the festival of the Lord.

The evidence of *Keralolpathi* does not however support the view that this takes place on Magha (മകം) in Magha (മാഘം) of Maha Magha year. According to this authority this occurs on Pushya in Karkadaga Vyalam. As against this it has to be pointed out that with the exception of the festival of 1694, all the Mamankams of which we have any record were Chinga Vyalam years, viz. A. D. 1600, 1683, 1695, 1731, 1743 & 1755. (*Vide* Cunningham: *The Book of Indian Eras*).

We do not know when the festival was first instituted. According to the *Keralolpatti* it was more ancient than the importation of the Perumals. Though the *Keralolpatti* account of the establishment of monarchy on the west coast has to be rejected in the light of recent researches, it may perhaps be regarded as explaining how the Perumals first obtained a footing at Tirunavay. When the rule of the Perumals came to an end, the privilege of acting as the Rakshapurusha of the festival devolved upon Vellattiri the Arangot or Walluvanad Raja. As the result of a successful war with the Vellattiri Raja sometime before the arrival of the Portuguese in A. D. 1498 the Zamorin made himself master of Tirunavay and with it the Rakshapurusha (=protector) of the Mamankam festival. —K. V. K. A.

APPENDIX I.

The Zamorin's Statement of A. D. 1810 about the Mamankam.

(൫) അഞ്ചാമത. മാമാങ്കവെലയുടെയും ചാവെററിൻെറയും വിവരം അറിയണമെന്ന ചൊദിച്ചതിൻെറ ഉത്തരം താഴെ എഴുതുന്നു. എന്തെന്നാൽ കെരളരാജ്യത്തിങ്കൽ പുരാണപ്രസിദ്ധമായി നീള എന്നും പ്രതീചി എന്നും പെരായിട്ടുള്ള പെരാറ എന്ന നദിയുടെ ഉത്തരതീരത്തിങ്കൽ നവയൊഗികളുടെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠ ആയിരിക്കുന്ന മഹാവിഷ്ണുവിൻെറ നിത്യസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം പരിപൂർണ്ണമായിരിക്കുന്ന തിരുനാവായെ എന്ന പുണ്യ

ക്ഷെത്രത്തിങ്കൽ മഹാവിഷ്ണുവിനും മെലെഴുതിയ പെരാറ എന്ന മഹാനദിക്കും ചിങ്ങവ്യാഴം വരുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മാഘമാസം ൨൮ ദിവസവും വലുതായിട്ടുള്ള മഹൊത്സവം ആകുന്നത. മെലെഴുതിയ മാഘമാസത്തിൽ ഗംഗ തുടങ്ങിയുള്ള പുണ്യതീൎത്ഥങ്ങളുടെ സാന്നിദ്ധ്യം മെലെഴുതിയ നീളാ എന്ന നദിയിൽ ഉണ്ട എന്ന പുരാണങ്ങളിൽ പറയുന്നതും ഉണ്ട. മെൽ എഴുതിയ ഉത്സവം പരിപാലിക്കാനായിക്കൊണ്ട നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കൽ മഹാരാജാവ ആവുന്ന സാമൂതിരിരാജാവും ശെഷം നാലു കൂറുവാഴ്ചയിലുള്ള രാജാക്കന്മാരും, മന്ത്രിപ്രധാനികളും സെനാപതികളും മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണരും സകലമാന ജനങ്ങളും കൂടി മെൽ എഴുതിയ തിരുന്നാവായെ മഹാക്ഷെത്രത്തിന്റെ സന്നിധാനത്തിങ്കൽ കൊവിലകങ്ങളും പണിചെയ്യിച്ച ഇരുന്ന മെൽ എഴുതിയ ജനങ്ങൾ എല്ലാവരൊടും സകലമാന വിരുതുകളൊടുംകൂടി മെല്പറഞ്ഞ മഹാവിഷ്ണുവിന്റെ ഉത്സവവും നദിയുടെ ഉത്സവവും നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിന്റെ പ്രതാപവും കൂടി ഒന്നായി മെലെഴുതിയ മാഘമാസത്തിൽ ൨൮ ദിവസവും നിലപാടും ഘൊഷയാത്രയും നടത്തി സകലമാന ജനങ്ങൾക്കും അന്നദാനവും ചെയ്ത സന്തൊഷിപ്പിച്ച നിത്യവും നദിയെ സ്നാനവും ചെയ്ത മഹാവിഷ്ണുവിനെയും സെവിച്ച ബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെ ആശീൎവ്വാദത്തൊടും കൂടി ഇരിക്കുമാറാകുന്നത. ഇപ്രകാരം മാമാങ്കവെല അലങ്കരിച്ചിരിക്കുമ്പൊൾ മെലെഴുതിയ മലയാളത്തിലുള്ള രാജാക്കന്മാര എല്ലാവരും അതിശയ പദാൎത്ഥങ്ങളായിട്ടുള്ള ഉപായനങ്ങളൊക്കെയും കൊടുത്തയക്കുമാറാകുന്നത. കെരളരാജ്യത്തിങ്കൽ വള്ളുവനാട്ടുകര എന്ന ശീമക്കു അധിപതിയായിരിക്കുന്ന വള്ളുവക്കൊനാതിരി എന്ന രാജാവ മെൽ എഴുതിയ ശീമയിലുള്ള പ്രജകളെ ധൎമ്മം അല്ലാതെ ഉപദ്രവിക്കു സംഗതിയായിട്ട അവിടെയുള്ള പ്രജകളെല്ലാവരും കൂടി ഐഹിക സുഖങ്ങളെ ഉപെക്ഷിച്ച പരഗതി വരുത്തുവാനായിട്ട മെൽപറഞ്ഞ ശീമയിൽ തിരുമാനാംകുന്ന എന്ന എത്രയും പുണ്യസ്ഥലമായിരിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷെത്രത്തിങ്കൽ അധിവാസമായ ശ്രീമഹാഭദ്രകാളി എന്ന ഭഗവതിയെ സെവിച്ച പരഗതിയെ അപെക്ഷിച്ചപ്പൊൾ ചിങ്ങവ്യാഴം വരുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മാഘമാസത്തിൽ തിരുന്നാവായെ എന്ന പുണ്യസ്ഥലത്തിങ്കൽ നദീതീരത്ത വിഷ്ണുക്ഷെത്രത്തിന്റെ സന്നിധാനത്തിങ്കൽ ചെന്ന യുദ്ധം ചെയ്ത ദെഹത്യാഗം ചെയ്താൽ പരഗതി വരുമെന്ന മെൽപറഞ്ഞ ഭഗവതിയുടെ നിയൊഗപ്രകാരം അതാത ചിങ്ങവ്യാഴം വരുന്ന കാലങ്ങളിൽ മെൽപറഞ്ഞ ശീമയിൽ കൎമ്മാവസാനം വന്നിട്ടുള്ള പ്രജകൾ ഭഗവതിയുടെ ആവെശത്തൊടുകൂടി ഓടിവന്ന തിരുന്നാവായെ മാമാങ്കവെലയും നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ട ഇരിക്കുന്ന നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കലെ സൈന്യത്തൊട യുദ്ധം ചെയ്ത മരിച്ച പരഗതി വരുത്തുമാറും ഉണ്ട. മെൽപറഞ്ഞ മാഘമാസം ൨൮ ദിവസവും മാമാങ്കവെലയും നടത്തി ഇരുപത്തെട്ട ദിവസം കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ മെൽ എഴുതിയ മഹാവിഷ്ണുവിനെയും പുണ്യനദിയെയും മഹാബ്രാഹ്മണരെയും നമസ്കരിച്ച അവരുടെ അനുഗ്രഹത്തൊടുകൂടി സകല ജനങ്ങളും ഒന്നിച്ച നമ്മുടെ സ്വരൂപത്തിങ്കലെ മഹാരാജാവ കൊഴിക്കൊട്ട സമസ്ഥാനത്തെക്കതന്നെ പൊകമാറാകുന്നത.

—(Appendix III in *The Zamorins of Calicut* Part I by K. V. Krishna Aiyar).

APPENDIX II.

THE MAMANKAM OF 1695 A. D.

"It was an ancient custom for the Zamorin to reign but twelve years and no longer. If he died before his term was expired, it saved him a troublesome ceremony of cutting his own throat on a public scaffold erected for the purpose. He first made a feast for all his nobility and gentry who are very numerous. After the feast he saluted his guests and went on the scaffold and very decently cut his own throat in the view of the assembly, and his body was a little while after burned with great pomp and ceremony and the grandees elected a new Samorin. Whether that custom was a religious or civil ceremony, I know not, but it is now laid aside.

"And a new custom is followed by the modern Zamorins that a jubilee is proclaimed throughout his dominions at the end of 12 years and a tent is pitched for him in a spacious plain and a great feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days with mirth and jollity, guns firing night and day, so at the end of the feast any four of the guests that have a mind to gain a crown by a desperate action in fighting their way through thirty or forty thousand of his guards and kill the Samorin in his tent, he that kills him succeeds him in his Empire.

"In anno 1695 one of those jubilees happened and the tent pitched near Pennany a sea-port of his about 15 leagues to the southward of Calicut. There were but three men that would venture on that desperate action, who fell in with sword and target among his guards and after they had killed and wounded many were themselves killed. One of the desperadoes had a nephew of 15 or 16 years of age that kept close by his uncle in the attack on the guards, and when he saw him fall the youth got through the guards into the tent and made a stroke at his majesty's head and had certainly despatched him if a brass lamp which was burning over his head had not marred the blow; but before he could make another, he was killed by the guards and I believe the same Samorin reigns yet. I chanced to come that time along the coast and heard the guns for two or three days and nights successively".

—(*A New Account of the East Indies* by Hamilton).

APPENDIX III.

The Installation of the Perumal,

കലിയുഗത്തിന്റെ ആരംഭം തുടങ്ങി ദുഷ്ടന്മാർ വന്നതിക്രമിക്കയാൽ നൂറ്റെട്ടു ഗ്രാമത്തിലുള്ളവർ ഓരോരോ രാജാവിനെ കല്പിക്കേണം എന്നു ശ്രീപരശുരാമനോടു ഉണർത്തിച്ചാറെ ശ്രീ നാവാക്ഷേത്രത്തിങ്കൽ ഭഗവാന്റെ ഉത്സവത്തിന്നായിക്കൊണ്ടു ഗംഗാദേവി എഴുന്നെള്ളും ദിവസം സ്നാനം ചെയ്തു, ഭൂമിക്കു ഷൾഭാഗവും കൂടാതെ നിങ്ങൾക്കു തെളിഞ്ഞ ആളെ രാജാവാക്കി പേരാറ്റിലെ വെള്ളം കൊണ്ടഭിഷേകവും ചെയ്തു കൊള്ളുക എന്നരുളിച്ചെയ്തു. ശേഷം ശത്രുസംഹാരത്തിന്നും ക്ഷേത്ര രക്ഷെക്കും പരശുരാമൻ കാളിയുടെ വാൾവാങ്ങി ബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെ പക്കൽ കൊടുപ്പൂതും ചെയ്തു. അവർ എല്ലാവരും കൂടി ചോഴമണ്ഡലമാകുന്ന രാജ്യത്തിങ്കൽ ചെന്നു കേരളൻ എന്നു പേരായിരിക്കുന്ന രാജാവിനെ കൂട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടുവന്നു കർക്കടകവ്യാഴം മാഘമാസത്തിൽ പൂയറവുന്നാൾ പേരാററിൽ സ്നാനം ചെയ്തു നാവാക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ ഇരുന്നു. വാകയൂർ ആസ്ഥാനമണ്ഡപത്തിന്മേൽ ഇരുത്തി ശ്രീപരശുരാമൻ ദാനം ചെയ്തു ഭൂമിക്കു രാജാവാക്കി അഭിഷേകവും ചെയ്തു.

—(Keralolpatti, pp. 23-24, Mangalore Edition, 1890.)

—K. V. K. A.

APPENDIX IV.

(Notes by T. K. Joseph.)

I

The Mahaamaagha-magham festival appears to be celebrated at present not only in Kumbhakonam in South India, but also in Hardwar, Prayag, Nasik, and Ujjain in North India in the mahaamaagha year, in the month Maagha (January-February), on the day (maaghi) of the full moon in the tenth asterism maghaa (also spelt maghah in Skt.).

II

മഘയുക്താ പൌർണ്ണമാസീ
മാഘീ; മാസേ തു യത്ര സാ
നാമ്നാ സ മാഘഃ; പൌഷാദ്യാ-
ശ്ചൈവ മേകാദശാപരേ.

Mahaa-makham (the great sacrifice), mahaa-maham (the great festival), mahaa-magham (the great magha asterism), mahaa-mahaa-ankam (the very great fight) and one or two other compound words have been suggested as the originals of the Malayalam word maamaankam. But mahaa-maagha-magham (=the great maagha-magham, i. e. magha asterism of the month of maagha, or the magha asterism of the mahaa-maagha year) seems to be more satisfactory than the others. Mahaa-maagha-magham (മഹാമാഘമഘം) regularly becomes maa-maaka-makam (മാമാകമകം, மாமாகமகம்) in Malayalam and Tamil, and from this to the present form maamaankam is an easy glide. The original suggested above accounts also for the *n* before *k* appearing in the present Malayalam and Tamil form maamaankam. In ordinary careless pronunciation medial single *k* often degenerates into *a*, which of course combines with the sounds before and after it. The following are examples:—

൧. കോട്ടയകം—കോട്ടയം.
൨. മുകളിൽ—മോളിൽ.
൩. തുകൽ—തോൽ.
൪. ഭഗവതി—പവോതി.
൫. പകരം—പോരം
൬. പകലത്തേത്—പോലത്തേത്.
൭. അകത്തെഅമ്മ—അത്തേമ്മ.
൮. സശ്ലിക—സദ്യ.

The form Maamaakam without an *n* before *k* must be a corruption of Mahaamaagham. (മഹാമാഘം.)

III

The author of *Kerala Kshetra Mahatmyam* (Trichur, 1104, M. E.), p. 108 includes the river at Tirunavay in his list of *tirthas* or holy waters in Kerala. (See below).

നദീ നദാശ്ച പാപഘ്നാഃ
കേരളേഷു വിശേഷതഃ,
നഗരാബ്ധിവിശേഷാ യേ
താൻ ബ്രവീമി സമാസതഃ
ശ്രീഹിമുഖനദീ പുണ്യാ
ഭാരതീ ച ശുഭാ നദീ
നാവാനദീ പുണ്യതമാ
തഥാ വടമുഖീ നദീ.

* * * *

The third chapter of the above work deals at length, *ut infra*, with the river Nila or Bharatappula, which flows through Tirunavay, and with the temples of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva there.

നിളാനദീ പുണ്യതമാ
സേയം കല്യാണദായിനീ.
ത്രിമൂർത്തീനാം മദ്ധ്യഭാഗ-
വാഹിനീ പുണ്യവർദ്ധിനീ,
ഗംഗാസമാനോദകാ ച
സ്നാനമാത്രേണ പാവനീ.
ഭാരതാഖ്യാ നദീ സേയം
നിത്യം പശ്ചിമവാഹിനീ,
യത്ര സ്നാന്ത്യമരാ നിത്യം
ശുദ്ധയേ ശുദ്ധവക്ഷസഃ.

At Tirunavay the river Nila, equal to the Ganges in sanctity, flows between Vishnu on its northern bank, and Brahma and Siva on the southern bank. Even the holy Devas, according to the above extract, come and bathe in the river in order to purify themselves.

പ്രതിഷ്ഠാ ബ്രഹ്മണോ ഭൂമൌ
ദുർല്ലഭാ നാത്ര സംശയഃ,
അത്ര ത്രയാണാം ഭവതി
പ്രതിഷ്ഠാ ചാതിപാവനീ,
അത്യത്ഭുതമിദം മന്യേ
ത്രിമൂർത്തീനാം സഹാസനം.

—*Ibid.*, p. 21.

Brahma temples, says the author, are very rare in the world, and it is a great wonder that all the gods of the Hindu Triad reside close to one another in Tirunavay.

IV

According to *Kerala Mahatmyam* (Trichur, 1912), Ch. 52, Parasurama himself the creator and first king of Kerala, ruled over the land with Navayogipuram (=Tirunavay) on the banks of Brhannadi (=Peraar, Nila, Bharatappula) as his capital (slokas 1 and 2). The 21 Samanta kings (Perumals) who succeeded him were also installed at the same place at the "mahaamakham" festival (solka 15.)

V

The following extract from Chapter 71 of *Kerala Mahatmyam* seems to indicate some of the details about the position of the planets on the 'mahaamakham" day.

ആവിർഭൂതാ മഹാനദ്യാം
ഗംഗാ ത്രിപഥഗാ നദീ,
മഹിതേ മഖനക്ഷത്രേ
കുംഭസംസ്ഥേ ദിവാകരേ,
ലഗ്നേ കർക്കടകേ ദിവ്യ
ഉച്ചസ്ഥേ ച ചതുർഗ്രഹേ
ഭൃഗുവാസരസംയുക്തേ
ഭാർഗ്ഗവോ ഹൃഷ്ടമാനസഃ
ബ്രാഹ്മണേഭ്യോ ദദൌ താവൽ
ഗവാം കോടിസഹസ്രകം.

(The reading of മഖനക്ഷത്രേ in line 3 should be മഘനക്ഷത്രേ as മഘഃ or മഘാ is the name of the 10th asterism).

Prince K. C. Manavikraman Raja of the Calicut royal family says in his Introduction to the (Malayalam) *Mamankam Song* (of 1695 A. D.) printed at Kottakkal, 1084 M. E., that the festival begins with the pushya asterism in the month of Pausha (Makaram or Tai), and ends with the magha asterism in the next month Maagha (Kumbham or Maasi) in the year in which Jupiter is in Karkadagam (the sign Cancer). The Zamorin hero of the above *Song* celebrated one Mamankam in 869 M. E. (1694 A. D.) with Jupiter in Karkadagam and another in 870 M. E. (1695 A. D.) with Jupiter in the next sign Chingam (Leo), for according to him the celebration of both the Cancer-Jovian and Leo-Jovian Mamakams in (രണ്ടുകാലം) two consecutive years was the time-honoured practice in his family He says:—

പണ്ടുപണ്ടേത്രയുംമുമ്പിലമ്മാമന്മാ-
രുണ്ടാക്കി രക്ഷിച്ചു വന്ന മാമാങ്കങ്ങൾ
രണ്ടുകാലം പരിചോടൊരു പോലെയാ-
യുണ്ടിരിപ്പൂ കേട്ടു ഞായവുമങ്ങനെ.
രണ്ടുപേരമ്മാമന്മാരത്രേ കേവലം
രണ്ടുമൊന്നായുഴിക്കുന്നതും കണ്ടു നാം
ഉണ്ടതു പണ്ടുള്ളവണ്ണം കഴിപ്പതി-
നുണ്ടായിരുന്നിതു മേൽക്കുമേലാഗ്രഹം.

—*Mamankam Song*, p. 104.

VI

The alleged practice of the Zamorin cutting his own throat is not mentioned in the *Mamankam Song*.

VII

Like the annul Tiruvonam festival in the Sravana asterism of Vishnu in the Sraavana month (July-August), originally celebrated (in my opinion) at the Vishnu temple in Trkkaakkara only 13 miles by boat from the Perumal's capital in Cranganore, by the Perumal and some of the other kings of Kerala, the holy Mamankam festival of Tirunavay, only about 50 miles from Cranganore. must probably have been attended by the Perumal also. On such occasions the Perumal of Cranganore must have had the precedence. It was perhaps after the end of the Perumal period in about 1100 A. D. that the Valluvanad king and after him the Zamorin gained precedence at the Mamankam festival.

— T. K. J.

Pallivanavar in Kiliroor.

(By Vidvan P. K. Padmanabha Panikkar).

A few miles to the west of Kottayam town in Travancore, and surrounded by low paddy fields on all sides and close to a branch of river Meenachil there is a thickly populated village named Kiliroor rich in the fertility of its soil, but richer still in materials for the searching eyes of an antiquarian. The heavy flood during the monsoon months covers this and the neighbouring villages with its alluvial products except a small elevated area in the heart of the village, covered with thick layers of laterite stone. It is then a refuge to those who are often rendered homeless by the annual floods, and in ancient days it was a place of resort for one of the ancient Perumals of Kerala, well known as Pallivanavar. Kiliroor is not wanting in its local traditions and finely woven stories. On the hillock referred to above there is a temple dedicated to Kartyayani, and there are other minor temples dedicated to different deities, all being enclosed by the main walls. At present another temple is being built, the dedication ceremony of which is yet to be performed. All the other temples there are of remote origin. Their exact dates and history are still undiscovered. But the oldest temple, according to the traditionists of the locality, is one dedicated to Vishnu near the S. E. corner of the main wall.

The people of Kiliroor, so the tradition goes, were ardent followers of the Buddha, and the Vishnu temple called Thevarampalam (ദേവരമ്പലം) was, as a result of the enthusiasm of the people of Kiliroor for the new faith, built in those days of Buddhistic supremacy in Kerala.

In the days of the Thekkumkoor rajas of Kottayam in Travancore, certain places in their territory were chosen as centres for the military men of the country to assemble annually and show their feats of strength and their dexterity in wielding weapons. In one of such gatherings it was the fortune of Kiliroor Kara(village) to win the day, and the king elated with joy gave them prizes. The opponents who had been beaten racked their brains to mar the evident superiority of the winners of the day. They said in contempt that though the men of Kiliroor were of proved skill in arms, they were but Baudhas, undeserving of the honour of the day from a king who was a staunch follower of the Vedas. The men of Kiliroor deeply wounded at this, decided once for all to remove the cause of reproach. After much labour they built another temple for Karthyayani the goddess (the principal deity at present) in the centre of the hillock. Prior to this there existed only the "Vishnu" temple, the image in which is manifestly a Buddhistic one. Thus the Buddha image of Kiliroor was in course of time, worshipped as Vishnu.

Pallivanavar, it is said, frequented this place after he had abandoned the throne and renounced the pleasures of this world. As the history of Pallivanavar is intimately connected with Kiliroor (*vide K. S. P.*, Series 3, p. 157, col. 2) there seems to be some truth in this tradition. Kiliroor is very near Nilamperur.

The Vishnu temple is 40 ft. long and 25 ft. broad. Unlike other temples in Kerala the architecture of the building is not after the orthodox fashion. Inside it is divided into two rooms, and in the anterior one the image of Buddha (now called Vishnu) is installed together with the goddess Annapoorneswari. The image of Vishnu is made of bell-metal, and is a model of beautiful workmanship. Seated with legs crossed, the right resting on the left and the left on the right, shoulders bent, the fore arms crossing each other, the palms placed one over the other below the navel, the ends of the index finger and the thumb of the right hand coming into contact, the trunk and head perfectly erect on the seat, the two eyes directed to the tip of the nose, deeply immersed in contemplation, there is seen the image of the Lord, the object of Pallivanavar's

devotion and faith. This *beardless* image is exactly like that of Vishnu in Neelamperoor in every detail of size, posture, ornaments, and expression of the face. On the wall of the posterior room there is an enlargement in relief of the same image in stucco with only one difference, viz, that it is devoid of the halo of the original in the round.

On either side of the steps leading to the sanctum sanctorum there are figures of devotees (Bhaktas) carved in granite stone. Some Superficial observers have mistaken them for Muhammadan Fakirs. As a matter of fact there is not even the slightest resemblance between these and Fakirs.

Local tradition does not at all support the statement, that Muhammadans used to go to the temple of Kiliroor and reverence the image there. To all appearance it is a Buddhistic image, believed to have been installed by Pallivanavar who had some leanings towards the Gospel of the Buddha. The arguments brought forward by some to show that Pallivanavar was converted to Islam are not convincing. But from the recent discovery of a statuette of Pallivanavar in the Neelamperoor temple, bearing a rosary with a conspicuous cross in the middle, it is evident that the Perumal became a Christian. His devotion to the Buddhistic faith and his liking for Christianity may be regarded by some as a contradiction in terms. But we may suppose that Pallivanar was never a religious fanatic, but a magnanimous soul who devoted the evening of his life to the contemplation of the sublime truth. We know from tradition that orthodox Brahmins tried to put him outside the pale of Hinduism owing to his heretical ways of belief. Some gentlemen of Kiliroor say that in days gone by the daily puja ceremony at the Vishnu temple used to be peformed only after the details of worship were over in the other temple there. This exactly accords with the orthodox notion of pollution, because the above image was Buddhistic in origin. There is a tradition like this about the "Vishnu' image of Neelamperoor also. Both these have only *two* arms each.

In the year 987 M.E. the local trustees of the Kiliroor temple handed over to the Travancore Goverment their right in the management of the temple. The only path open to the antiquarian to peep into the mysteries of the ancient history of the locality is current tradition of a varying and intricate nature.

—P. K. P. P.

A Vatteluttu Ola 301 Years Old.

(By T. K. Joseph, B. A., L. T.)

The following is the text of a palmyra-leaf MS. of 804 M. E., about 19 in. × 1¾ in., kept among the records of the Thachchudaya Kaymal of Iringalakkuda in Cochin. The ola has already so decayed as to have broken in two. Its ends too have split and crumbled. But it is stronger than the Tamil ola of 448 M.E. reproduced in the block opposite p. 309 *ante.*

കൊല്ലം വൃ൪ മത മകരവിയാഴം വിതിന ഞായററി ൽ എഴുതിയ പാ(ട്ട ഓല൪) [1. 2] കരണമാവത.

തിരുത്തിക്കാട്ടിൽ രാമെൻ തെവി കൈയ്യാൽ മൂന്നു റെറാരുപത്തഞ്ചു പ (1. 3]ഴെ പണം കൊണ്ടാ(ഠ) മല്ലിച്ചെരി മാതെവൻ തെവൻ കൊണ്ടോരാ കൊണ്ട പരിചാവത. ഇക [1.4] കൊണ്ട പഴെ പണം/ ന.൯൭/൬ം കാരിയം. വാരാട്ടിലൊണം തെചത്ത എ ചെച്ചെൻകാട യെന്ന വളപ്പ പാട്ടമായി എഴുതികൊട്ട ത്താം(ഠ) മാതെവൻ തെവൻ ഇക്കാരംക്കമെ ഇ (ം) [1. 5] [൨൭൭൧] പഴെ പണവും കൊട്ടത്ത എചെച്ചെ ൻ കാടയെന്ന വളപ്പ പാട്ടമായി എ(ഴു) [1. 7]തിച്ചു കൊണ്ടമാം രാമെൻ തെവി. ഉമ്മാരംക്കമെ ഇപ്പാട്ടമാ ണ്ട പാട്ടം (തി) [1 8]രിച്ചു നിന്ന പാട്ട നെല്ലാൽ ത രും അരാംത്ത പലിച കിഴിച്ചു(വരവെണ്ടും) ചെ [(dv, 9] ഴം ആണ്ടുവരെ ഇരിംപനാരായത്താൽ ന്ററാ അഞ്ചു നാരായം നെല്ല കൊട [1, 1]ത്തിരിപ്പ രാമെൻ തെ വി. ആണ്ടുവരെ] ൧൨൧ നാരായം നെല്ല വാങ്ങുക[1. 1]കൊണ്ടവു മാതെവൻ തെവൻ, കരുമത്തിൽ ഇട്ടിരാ മെൻ കയ്യെഴുത്ത.

The portions in ( ) brackets are my recson truocw tnions of lacunae in the MS.

—T. K. J.

Some Travancore Dynastic Records,

(Third Series)

(By M. Rajaraja Varma Raja, M. A., B. L.)

In this the third article of the series I shall record the *paditharam* documents firstly, in corroboration of the genealogy of the Sovereigns as stated previously, and then the *neets* showing the assignment of lands and estates to the princes of the royal house.

The first document marked (a) dated the 17th Kartigai 756 M. E. states that King Martanda Varma (No. 6 of 1st series) mounts a palanquin on that day. From the documents of the first series it will be seen that Martanda Varma (No. 6) was King from 754-767 M. E. and that Ravi Varma was his successor. (See also Doc. X of the same date in 1st series.)

King Ravi Varma (No. 11 of the first series) died on the 11th Avani 838 M. E. This event is corroborated by the document marked (b) in this series. It is dated the 24th Avani 838 M. E. and states that the *punyaham* (purification) after the death of the King was performed on the 22nd idem, i. e. on the twelfth day, after the usual period of pollution.

The third document narked (c) is dated the 17th Tai 843 M. E. According to the documents of the first series Rama Varma (No. 12) was King from 838 M. E. This document says that Rama Varma assumed the headship of Jayatunganad (Quilon) at Kallada. It says only 'രാമവൎമ്മ ജയതുങ്ങനാട്ടിയ ഇടത്തിൽ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ' and not 'ചിറവായ് മൂത്ത ജയതുങ്ങനാട്ടിയയിടത്തിൽ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ' (the head of Chiravay). The omission of the words 'head of Chiravay' throws a doubt as to whether this Rama Varma is the same person as the King (No. 12). It may however be noted that both Chiravay and Jayatunganad had already become allied during the reign of his predecessor, King Ravi Varma (No. 11), and that, unless he was the Sovereign, he would not have assumed headship. Hence it may be presumed that King Rama Varma (No. 12) himself assumed the sovereignty of Quilon also.

The next six documents marked (d) to (i) will indicate the line of succession since the death of King Aditya Varma (No. 13) who died in 852 M. E. (1677 A. D.) According to accepted history, (Queen) Umayamma Rani succeeded him in that year. It may be inferred from document marked (d) that she must have ruled only as Regent for her son Ravi Varma, the only Prince who survived the Kalippankulam tragedy when five of his brothers were murdered by the Ettuveettil Pillamars. This document (d) dated the 15th Alpasy 860 M. E. states that Ravi Varma born in the star Kartiga, head of Chiravay, went to the palace (koikal) at Kallada and assumed the sovereignty of Jayatunganad (Quilon). This event is again referred to in the next document marked (e) which states also the necessity for doing so.

Document marked (e) is an incomplete record dated the 3rd Tai 860 M. E. and recites the events in connection with the resumption of the daily services (pooja) in the Sri Padmanabha temple in Trivandrum after their discontinuance for some time.

It does not say why the poojas ceased for a time. But we know from other sources that those were troublous times. Since the invasion of Thirumala Nayak some time

about 809 M. E, there have been successive incursions of the Madura troops (called Vadu-gappada), and the whole of South Travancore was in an unsettled state. Taking advantage of this and at the instance of the traitors of the sovereign, a Muhammadan adventurer, ordinarily known as *Mukilan* (literally the Mogul) invaded and plundered the country. He fixed Manakkad near Trivandrum as his headquarters. This was in 852 M. E. In his devastation the Sri Padmanabha temple (in Trivandrum) alone escaped desecration at the intervention of some Muhammadan friends of Umayamma Rani. But the *poojaries*, the *pillamars* and others ran away shutting up the temple. So it was that the *pooja* (daily service) ceased to exist.

It appears from the document that, when the *Poojaries* escaped, they pilfered the temple of the golden covering of the image. It says that the Senior Rani of Attingal born in the star Aswathi (this was the *Nakshatra* of Umayamma Rani) and her minor son King Ravi Varma having resolved to resuscitate the daily services in the temple on a reduced scale (അല്പപൂജ) and conduct the necessary purificatory ceremonies and the annual *Utsavam* (festival) convened the temple council. There it was decided that, according to past usage, although the daily poojas could be continued, the purificatory ceremony (കലശം) and the annual festival (ഉത്സവം) should be performed only after the King had assumed the headship of Jayatunganad (Quilon) and Thrippappur (Attingal). In other words, unless the Sovereign is the head of all the three Houses, Chiravay, Jayatunganad and Thrippappur, he is incompetent to preside over the conduct of extraordinary ceremonies in the Sri Padmanabha temple.

It so happened that the head of the Chiravay House was then the head of the other two houses also. So both the mother and son went to Kallada and on the 15th Alpasi 860 M.E. assumed the headship of Jayatunganad, stayed at Quilon for four days, came to Attingal and there also halted for four days, and then came back to Trivandrum. Then the repairs of the damaged portion of the *Bimbam* (sacred image,) were carried out.

It is further evident from this record that the Pillamars (Ettuveedar) and the Kurupus headed by Vira Kerala Varma of Poka Thayvazhi rebelled against the Senior Rani of Attingal in 852 M.E. This was evidently after the demise of her predecessor Aditya Varma (No. 13) in Masi, 852 M. E In Avani 853 M.E. the annual Rohini festival (the Queen's star was Aswati, & Ravi Varma's Kartiga) was performed, and the Saraswathi Pooja (Dasra) conducted in Puratasi at Kalkuam (Padmanabhapuram). The wording of the record gives room for the suspicion that the chief Priest, Tharananalloor Padmanabhan Thrivikraman, was as guilty as the poojaries themselves and therefore one Thakarapurathu Chingan Akkiraman was got down from the northern part (വടക്കുനിന്നു) to officiate in the conduct of the daily services of the temple.

The document is incomplete. Otherwise, more information could have been obtained on these matters. It is however clear that Ravi Varma was the next King to Aditya Varma (No. 13), from Masi, 852 M. E. and that his mother, Umayamma Rani, reigned as Regent only.

Document (f) is also dated the 3rd Tai 860 M.E It describes the assumption by Ravi Varma of the headship of the Thrippappoor House at the Mahadevar (Siva) temple at Thrippappur, eight miles to the north of Trivandrum. Even now the Maharajas of Travancore go to that temple for *Padiyettam*

after assumption of sovereignty. The record incidentally refers to the rebellion of the *Kuruppus* headed by Kerala Varma against the Senior Rani of Attingal (Umayamma Rani) mentioned in the previous record and the regalia being taken away by the rebels by breaking open rhe strong room (ഭണ്ഡാരപ്പുര), thus necessitating new regalia being made in gold.

The next two documents (g) & (h) both dated the 4th Tai 860 M.E. refer to the visits of King Ravi Varma to the Kanchipurathu Madom (കാഞ്ചിപുരത്തുമഠം) and the Sri Padmanabha temple respectively after assuming the headship of Thrippappur. Document(i) of the same date says that after worship in the temple, he went to Karippu Koikal (this Palace is still in existence within the Fort at Trivandrum) and paid Nazar and obeisance to the Senior Rani of Attingal (his mother).

It is evident from the afore-mentioned records that, when King Aditya Varma (No. 13) died in 853 M.E., he was succeeded by Umayamma, Senior Rani of Attingal as Regent for the minor son, King Ravi Varma, and that he assumed the reins of goverment in 860 M. E. (859?). The records in my possession do not say how long he ruled. But it is seen from the *Land Revenue Manual*, Vol. IV, p. 74 that he ruled up to 893 M. E. (1718 A. D.) His rule appears to have been a beneficent one as may be judged from the Edicts he issued to the people of Nanjanad regarding the revenue concessions consequent on the invasion of the Madura troops and the reforms he introduced in the land administration (*vide* pp. 74—84 of the *Land Revenue Manual*, Vol. IV.)

The Travancore Almanac says that King Ravi Varma was succeeded by Unni Kerala Varma. I have not come across any record of this Sovereign in the *Padithanam* accounts. But document marked (j) dated the 16th Chitra 896 M. E. shows that Rama Varma was then King, while according to the chronology given in the Almanac, Rama Varma ascended the throne only in 1724 A. D. i. e. 899 M. E. The document under reference states that King Rama Varma assumed the headship at Thiruvattar Thoniman (തോണിമാടം) Palace on the 1st Panguny 896 M. E., travelled to Kalkulam where he worshipped at the Siva shrines at Thiruvitancode, Keralapuram and Kalkulam and stayed in the Valia Neerazhikkara Palace, and on the *Vishu* day (1st Chithira) a Wednesday worshipped Sri Velayudha at Velimala shrine, had special festival (വിശേഷം) performed, and on the 5th Chithira started for Nanjanad, reached Bhuthapandy on 6th, Darsanamcope on the 7th idem, heard the complaints of the inhabitants, redressed their grievances and ordered them to go to his camp at Asramam, near Suchindram, on the 13th idem. On the 16th Chitra, the king proceeded with all his regal paraphernalia to worship in the Suchindram temple. The procedure adopted on royal visits to this temple is detailed next. The record however is incomplete.

I shall in a future paper describe the details of the ceremonies and procedure adopted on such occasions. Suffice it to say now that Rama Varma wrs King in 896 M.E, and not Unni Kerala Varma as the chronology given in the Almanac would have it. His successor was the renowned Martanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore who ascended the Musnad in 904 M. E. (1729 A.D.). Thus we have now authentic records to prove the uninterrupted succession of Sovereigns for nearly two centuries from 719 M. E.

* * *

The remaining six documents here published marked (1) to (6) relate to assignment of lands and *desams* to members of the royal family. The first document marked (1) is dated the 7th Purattasi 810 M. E. It gives details of the *desam* and the revenue therefrom given to Unni Kerala Varma of the senior Poka Thayvazhi. Probably it was this Unni Kerala Varma who gave Vilinjam to the English East India Company in 820 M. E. (1644 A. D.) as referred to in the State Manual Vol. I, p. 302. It also shows the pension allotted to Raja Rama Varma, apparently a member of the same family, from the revenues of the said *desam*. It has already been explained in my second article that Poka Thayvazhi Senior Branch became allied to the royal family by the adoption of 797 M. E.

The second document (No. 2) dated the 23rd Tai 829 M. E. is a similar gift of land for the possession and enjoyment of Ravi Varma Kochunni Pandarathil. Who is this Prince? Ravi Varma was the ruling Sovereign then. The document itself says that this young Prince after *Samavartanam* (Upanayanam) at Attingal on 21st Tai 829 M. E. in his sixteenth year came to Trivandrum and paid respects to King Ravi Varma on the 23rd idem. He is therefore a Prince of Attingal born in 813 or 814 M. E. It may however be noted that the epithet 'Kochunni Pandarathil' is found in the case of the adoptees from Vellarappallil, e. g. Rama Varma and Aditya Varma (*vide* documents of the second series). Whether it is an honorary pet name used in regard to all minor Princes, as the word Kochumni (കൊച്ചുണ്ണി) in later times, or whether it is a special appellation to the descendants of the adopted Princes from Vellarappallil, I cannot say. The document under reference alludes to the fact that the Thikkurichi Palace and demesnes attached thereto given to this Prince were in the possession and enjoyment of Aditya Varma till 785 M. E.

The next document (No. 3) is dated the 29th Tai 855 M. E. It is a royal grant of the Manalikkara Fort and Palace, Kothanalloor Adhikaram and forest revenue (തടിക്കുടിശ്ശി), Nattalam, and the plateaus and valleys and also estates in Kadukkara in Nanjanad to Rama Varma Junior Prince (കൊച്ചുതമ്പുരാൻ) from 1st Avani 856 M.E. This grant was made by the then Sovereign Ravi Varma while residing at Attingal. This Ravi Varma was the son of Umayamma Rani and succeeded King Aditya Varma as a minor. It may be presumed that, because he was a minor then, he resided at Attingal, the Regent mother's residence.

On the 17th Tai next year, i. e. 856 M. E. pension was settled by assignment of lands and revenue to Vira Kerala Varma of Poka Thayvazhi. The name of the King who granted it is not mentioned in the document (No. 4). This record gives the names of several old tenures on which the lands had been formerly given. The terms *Anchali* (അഞ്ചാലി) & Melvaram (മേൽവാരം) appear in several other documents also. Anchali is defined in the *Land Revenue Manual* as a cess levied on wet lands in Nanjanad under Otti, Jenmom and other Inam tenures". The name of one Arumana Nampirattiar Pandarathil, probably an aristocratic chief of the locality, is referred to. Some properties of this chief are also included in the grant. It may be that this Vira Kerala Varma is the successor of Kerala Varma who disputed the adoption of Ramakoil in 847 M. E.

Document No. 5 is the grant of Eraniel Chinganalloor to Prince Rama Varma. It is dated the 21st Avani 882 M. E. This Rama

Varma is the King mentioned in document (j) dated 16th Chithra 896 M. E. (*vide supra*). Eraniel was then the seat of the heir to the throne. What had become of Unni Kerala Varma who is said to have succeeded Ravi Varma in 893 M. E. is not known. Document H of the second series however mentions the name of one Kerala Varma head of Chiravay who died in 871 M. E. Unni Kerala Varma came long since. According to other records already referred to Ravi Varma was King in that year. If at all, Unni Kerala Varma could have ruled only from 893 to 896 M. E. Rama Varma was King three years hence in 896 (*vide* document j).

One important point to be noted in connection with this record is the grant of *Srikaryam* and *Kanakku* of the Kadinamkulam Mahadevar Devaswam and Madhusudana Vinnavar Emperumam (മധുസൂദനവിണ്ണവർ എമ്പെരുമാൻ) Devaswam (i. e. Parakka near Suchindram). The ownership of Devaswams was a chief source of revenue in former days, as it is so even now, so long as the Devaswam revenues are not treated as a separate trust fund. Many jenmies even now own Devaswams with properties, the income whereof goes to augment the receipts of the family.

The name of the King who granted this *Neet* is not mentioned therein. But it may be presumed that it was Ravi Varma who reigned according to the Almanac till 893 M. E.

The last document No. (6) is dated the 2nd Alpasi 810 M. E. It is the grant of Eraniel Chinganalloor Fort and properties and other estates to Prince Ravi Varma.

In this *Neet* also the *Srikaryam* of Alwar temple and Parakka Madhusudanaswami temple is given among other properties.

DOCUMENT a.

Martanda Varma (see Series 1, p. 8, No. 6) mounts palanquin at the Mahadevar temple in Tiruvancode, on 17th Kartiga 756 M. E.

............മ്മരെൻറ തിരുനാമ പെരുടയ ......ടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ..... ടിത്തരം.

൭൱൫൰൬

കാര°ത്തിക ൰൭ ഞെന്റെ-.

നയിനാര° മാൎത്താണ്ഡവൎമ്മരെൻറം തിരുനാമപ്പെരുടയ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇട[ത്തിൽ ന]യിനാര° തിരുവിതാങ്കൊട്ടമ[കാതെവര°കൊവിൽ തന്നിതിയിൽ നി]ൻറം നാളതു പുതനാഴിച്ചയും ഉത്തിരട്ടാതി[യും പൂൎവ്വപക്ഷത്തു ദശമിയും?] അൻറ തന്തരാചി കൊണ്ടു പല്ലക്കെറി അരു[ളകയിൽ] പടിത്തരം.

വിളക്കം കിണ്ണപതിയും. കിണ്ണപതിക്ക കതലിപ്പഴം ൨൰൫. വിളക്കിന്ന തെങ്ങാ എണ്ണ ൽ. ..... [അഴ°]ട്ട മങ്ങല്ലി[യം] അരി ൧. നിറനാഴിക്ക നെൽ ൬. [നിറ]മരൈക്കാൽ ൧ ക്ക നെൽ ൩ൽ. നിലവണിക്ക അരി അരയ്യാൽ. സരിവക്കൊട്ട- - ൨ ൰൫. പല്ലക്ക കൊമ്പു പൊതിവാൻ ചെല ൧. പല്ലക്ക എടുക്കം ....ഉള്ളടവു കണ്ണങ്കൈ രാമൻ അണ്ണപ്പന്ന ചുററുവാൻ ചെല ൧. കെട്ടുവാൻ ചെല ൽ. നല്ലൂര° ഉള്ളടവു [പൊലിനെൽ?]കാളി കാളിക്ക ചുററുവാൻ ചെല[൧]. കെട്ടുവാൻ ചെല ൽ. അഴ°ട്ട മങ്ങല്ലിയം എടുക്കം മുറപ്പണി തിക്കകെട്ടിക്ക ഉടുപ്പാൻ പണം ന്ന [ൽ ക്ക] ചെല ൧. ഉത്തരയത്തിന്ന പണം ൨ ൽ ചെല ൽ. ചാർത്തുവാൻ എഴമുളത്തിൽ മുക്കരെപ്പൻ കൊല്ലപ്പട്ടു തുപ്പട്ടി ൧.

—T, K. J.

DOCUMENT b

Ravi Varma died on 11th Avani 838 M. E. (See Series I, p. 10, No. 11). Purification ceremony on 22nd. Padiyettam in connection with it at the Padmanabhaswami temple, Trivandrum, on 24th.

൨. ഇരന്മ ചെയം. പടിയെ[ററം] നടത്തിന വക. നയിനാര ഇരവി വരമ്മാരരായ ചിറവായ മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ മുടിഞ്ഞരുളിയ പുണ്ണിയാകത്തിന പെരുമാറ ശ്രീ പൽപ്പനാപ പെരുമാറ്ക്ക പടിയും പടിയെററവും നടത്തിന വകൈ.

വൃന്ദവൃദ്ധി

ആവണിഷ് ൨൪ന്ധ.

(Ola No.) ൩൭൭൮.

നയിനാര ഇരവി വരമ്മാരരായ ചിറവായ മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ തിരുവാനന്തപുരത്തു ശ്രീ പാകത്തു കൊവിക്കൽ എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നും ടി മാസം ൧൧ന്ധ മുടിഞ്ഞരുളി ടി മാസം ൨൪ന്ധ പുണ്ണിയാകം നടത്തിന വകൈക്ക പെരുമാറ ശ്രീ പൽപ്പനാപ പെരുമാറ്ക്ക പടിയും പടിയെററവും നടത്തിന വകക്ക തെവാരം ഇടത്തുറൈ തെവൻ തിരുവിക്കിറമൻ വചം പണം കെട്ടിന വകൈ:— ....

പടി നമക്കാരം പെര ൩൨൧൩൦, പടിയെററം നമക്കാരം പെര ൨൩൨൧൦, ഉത്തമ നമക്കാരം പെര ൨൦, ഒററ നമക്കാരം പെര ൨൦ ആക വകര് നാൽ പടിയും ഉൾപ്പട നമക്കാരം പെര [൩൩൭൧]ക്ക തെക്ഷിണ പണം ൩൦, ടി പെരുവിചെഴാൽ എററം നമ[ക്കാരം] കൂടിന പെര ൨൩൧൩ക്ക തെക്ഷിണപണം ർ൩൨൧൩൦ ആക വക ൨ നാൽ നമക്കാരം പെര ൭൩൩൧൩ക്ക പണം ൧൩൧ ൨൧൩.

അമച്ച മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ കിഴക്കെ നടൈയിൽ ഇരുന്നും തെക്ഷണ ചെയിത വകൈ:–

തപയിൽ അവരകൾ വകൈക്ക പെര ൨ക്ക പണം വ്യ. ടി അണ്ണാവിക്ക പണം ൨. മുട്ടവിളവെ പെര ൨ക്ക പണം വ്യ. ടി അണ്ണാവിക്ക പണം ൨. വെള്ളത്ത അത്തിയര പണം ര്. ടി അണ്ണാവിക്ക പണം ൨. കരുത്ത അത്തിയറ ൧ ക്ക പണം ര്. ടി അണ്ണാവിക്ക പണം ൨. നെയിതച്ചെരി പണം ര്. ടി അണ്ണാവിക്ക പണം ൨. കൃവക്കരെ പെര ൨ക്ക പണം വ്യ. ടി അണ്ണാവിക്ക പണം ൨. തട്ടംപടി ആവെട്ടുപുത്തുരക്കിരാമത്തിൽ പനനിൻറപള്ളിക്ക പണം ൻ. കൊററംപള്ളിക്ക പണം ൩.

Another ola.

....

തിരു ഇഴവിന പുണ്ണിയാകത്തിന പെരുമാറ പൽപ്പനാപ പെരുമാറ്ക്ക പടിയും പടിയെററവും നടത്തിന വകൈ.

വൃന്ദവൃദ്ധി

ആവണിഷ് ൨൪ന്ധ.

(Ola No.) ൬൫൧൩

ചിക്ഷയൻ പണം ര്. ടി അണ്ണാവിക്ക പണം ൨. പെരിയനമ്പി ചാത്തിരിക്ക പണം ൩. ആക അമച്ചമണ്ഡപത്തിൽ ഇരുന്നും തെക്ഷണചെയിത പണം ൩വ്യരൾ.

തിരുമടപ്പള്ളിവാതുക്കൽ തെക്ഷണചെയിതവകൈ: പെരിയനമ്പിക്ക [പണം . .] പഞ്ചകത്തു നമ്പിക്ക [പണം . .]തെർകിൻ നമ്പി[ക്കപണം . .].[. . .]ംപേര ൨ക്ക പണം വ്യ. കീഴ്ച്ചാന്തി പെര ൧൫ക്ക പണം ൩൧. ചെഴം കൂട്ടം പേര ൫ക്ക പണം൧. ഞൂല [മെൽ]മുറി വൈക്കം പെര ൧വ്യക്ക പ

59

ണംമവ്വ. ടി നിത്തപ്പടിവെക്കും പെര്വക്ക പണം ർ. പഴവരിവെക്കും പേര്ക്ക പണം ൨. നിത്തനമക്കാരം വൈക്കും പെര്ക്കപണം൨. താതന്മാര് പെര് ൰൩ക്ക പണം൰൩. പൃപ്പള്ളി പണം ൧. താമരച്ചെരി പണം ൧. ത[ ]വം പണം ൧. ചന്തിരം പെര് ൧ക്ക പണം ൨. കാവലുടയ കരി [......]മണ്ഡവം പണിഉടയ പെര്ക്ക പണം ൧. ചുററുമണ്ഡവം [......]ഇലൈയിട്ടം പെര്ക്ക

Another ola

....

പടിയും പടിയെററവും നടത്തിനവക. പെരുമാററം ശ്രീപൽപ്പനാപ പെരുമാറക്ക തിരുഇഴവിന പുണ്ണിയാകത്തിന പടിയും പടിയെററവും നടത്തിയ വകൈ.

വൃ൩൰വ്വ

ആവണിമീ ൨൰൪

തിരുഅറവിളക്കിന നെയിവിലക്ക പണം൫. മാലൈയും പിറതാതവും വകക്കപണം ർ൰, തിരുമാലൈ വകൈക്ക പണം ൫൰ ആക പണം ൯൰ തിരുഇഴവിന ആകയിൽ കൊട്ടത്തില്ലാ. ആക തിരുമടപ്പള്ളിവാതുക്കൽനിന്നും തെക്ഷണ ചെയിതുചിലവാന പണം ൨൩൩. വിചെഴാൽ നമക്കാരം വകൈക്ക എററംക്രുടിന പെര് ൩൰൩. വെഞ്ചനത്തിന പെര് ൧ക്കപണം൬ ആക നമ്പിക്ക കൊട്ടത്ത പണം ൫൰൩.

കാഞ്ചിപുരത്തു മടത്തിൽ നിൻറും വെഞ്ചനം നടത്തവെണ്ടും വകൈക്ക കൊട്ടത്ത പണം ൨൩. പടിയെററു നടത്തപ്പൊൻ തെവാരം ഇടത്തറ തെവൻ തിരുവിക്കിറമന പണം ൰. കരുവലത്തുപ്പിള്ളമാര് ക്രുട്ടം ൫ക്ക പണം ൫.

ആക വക ർനാൽ പടിയെററം ഉൾപ്പട്ട വകൈക്ക ചെലവാനപണം ൧൩൧൭വ്വ൰ൻൽ, മൂന്നാം വാടിയിൽ നിൻറതാക ഉട്ടം പൂര് നമ്പി വചം കൊട്ടത്ത പണം ൫൰൩൰ ചെട്ടി മാലൈക്കട്ടിയും അരിയകുട്ടിയും പണം ചെലവിൽ നിൻറും കെട്ടീന പണം ൧൩൧൭൩൰൩൰ ആക വക ൨നാൽപണം ൧൩൧൭വ്വ൰ൻ൰ നെര്.

—T.K.J.

DOCUMENT c.

Rama Varma assumes headship of Quilon royal family on 17th Tai. 843 M. E., at Kallida palace, near Quilon. (See Series 1, p. 12, No. 12).

൭. ഇരാമചെയം. പടിത്തരം പണം ചെലവു.

രാമവർമ്മാ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ കല്ലിടൈയിരുന്നും ചെതുങ്കനാട്ടു തിരുമൂപ്പവാൻന്ന വക പണച്ചെലവു.

വൃ൪൰൩

തൈയിമീ ൰൭.

വെള്ളികൊട്ടു കുമരച്ചപ്പിള്ള പണം വ്വ. മയിലകൊട്ടു നമ്പച്ചപ്പിള്ള പണം വ്വ. കൊട്ടുവിളൈ കൊവിന്തപ്പിള്ളപണം൰൨. ചക്കച്ചപ്പിള്ള പണം ൰. ടി ഞാറുവീട്ടിൽ മാതെവൻ പിള്ള പണം ൰൨. ടി കെളൈയിപ്പിള്ള പണം ൰. കരുപ്പട്ടഴിയത്തു കെളൈയിപ്പിള്ള പണം ൰൨. മാത്താണ്ഡപ്പിള്ള പണം ൰൬.

Another ola.

...... പടിത്തരം പണം ചെലവു.

രാമവർമ്മാ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ കല്ലടൈയിരുന്നും ചെതുങ്കനാട്ടു തിരുമൂപ്പു വാഴ്ന്ന വക പണച്ചെലവു.

വ്യൗർ൭൩൰ ൹

തൈയിꜟ ൨൭൹.

ചെതുങ്കനാട്ടു ചൊരുറപത്തിൽ വെന്തിച്ച പിള്ളമാരꜛക്കും മാടമ്പിയാംക്കും കാരിയക്കാററꜛക്കും പണം കൊടുത്ത വക.

കാരിയം നയിനാൻ വെങ്കിടാത്തിരി പണം ൨൭. കൊപുരകറിപ്പിനു പണം ൭൬. പുതുച്ചെരിയിൽ മൂത്ത കറിപ്പിനു പണം ൨൭. മൊട്ടക്കൽ കറിപ്പിനു പണം ൭൬. പുതുക്കാട്ടു കറിപ്പിനു പണം ൭൨. ഇളങ്ങള്ളുകറിപ്പിനു പണം ൭൨. കൈയിതക്കുററിൽ കറിപ്പിനുപണം ൰. (തെ)ങ്ങളിപ്പാട്ടു കറിപ്പു പണം ൰. കരുപ്പുഴിയത്തു കറിപ്പുപണം ൰. ഇടപ്പുഴിഞ്ഞിയിൽ കറിപ്പു പണം ൰. പുത്തൂരꜛകറിപ്പു പണം ൰. വാഴപ്പള്ളിയിൽ കറിപ്പു പണം ൰. ഇടങ്ക കൊച്ചു അയ്യപ്പൻ കറിപ്പു പണം ൰. കന്തൽവിള കറിപ്പു പണം ൰. കരുവഴിയിടത്തു കറിപ്പു പണം ൪. വലിയ വീട്ടിൽ കറിപ്പു പണം ൬. മാനാമ്പഴെ കറിപ്പു പണം ൪. കുട്ടമതുകറിപ്പു പണം ൪. ആണ്ടവെലി കറിപ്പു പണം ൪. ചെമ്പിരാപ്പിള്ള പണം ൰. ചൊലൈൽ മാത്താണ്ടപ്പിള്ള പണം ൰. നീലമ്പിനായരꜛപണം ൰. പഴയവീട്ടിൽ കൊച്ചു കാമച്ചപ്പിള്ളൈ പണം ൬. കവറകൊട്ടുമാത്താണ്ടപ്പിള്ള പണം ൨൭.

Another ola.

............വമ്മാ കല്ലിടൈ ഇരുന്നും (ചെതുങ്കനാട്ടു) (മൂപ്പു)വാഴുന്ന വക.

വ്യൗർ൭൩൰ ൹

തൈയി ꜟ ൨൭൹

എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നും ഉടവാൾവെണ്ടിക്കും പൊൾ ഉടവാൾ പൂചിക്കവെണ്ടും കൊവിൽപ്പാട്ട പണം ൨ ൭ ൪. കലചം പൂചിക്ക വെണ്ടും വകൈക്കുതാഴമങ്ങലത്തിനു പണം ൩൭൨. ഉള്ളി(യിൽ?) കറിപ്പിനു രാചി പണം ൬ ൧൦ കലി പണം ൧൬൨. ടിയാനു ആറ പലത്തിൽ പട്ടു ൧.ടി ഇളയകറിപ്പിനു പണം ൪൭൨. മുകിത്തം മങ്ങാലിവാരിയരꜛക്കു പണം ൨(൭—) ടിയാനു കൊടുത്ത പണം ൭ [—] ആക ടിയാനു പണം [൩] ൭ [൧] . . . പെരꜛ ൨ ക്കു പണം ൪ . . . . യിൽ കറിപ്പിനു പണം ൭൧. [ഉട] വാൾ പൂചിച്ച മങ്ങലത്തു വാത്തിയാനു ആചാരിതെക്കണെ പണം ൭൧. തിരുമൂപ്പു വാഴവാൻ ഉടവാൾ എടുത്തു കൊടുത്ത കവറകൊട്ടു രാമൻ രാമനു എഴപലത്തിൽ മെകവണ്ണ പട്ടു ൧, കച്ചൈ ൧.വെള്ളികൊട്ടു പിള്ളൈക്കു അഞ്ചു പലത്തിൽ ടി പട്ടു ൧. മയിലകൊട്ടു പിള്ളക്കു അഞ്ചുപലത്തിൽ ടി പട്ടു ൧. ഉടവാളും വെണ്ടിമൂപ്പും വാഴുന്നു.

Another ola.

....[പടിയും] പടി [യെററവും.......]

രാമവമ്മാ കല്ലിടൈ ഇരുന്നും ചെതുങ്കനാട്ടു തിരുമൂപ്പു വാഴുന്ന വക.

വ്യൗർ൭൩൰ ൹

[. . . . .]

പുണ്ണിയാകത്തിനു ഉരുളി ൧. പിറണീതകിണ്ണി ൧. കതലിവാഴ കുല ൧. ടിക്കു തെക്ഷണ പണം ൨. മങ്ങലത്തു വാത്തിയാനെ കൊണ്ടു ഉടവാൾ പൂചിപ്പാൻ വലിയ തളുക ൧. ടി യിൽ ഇടുവാൻ അരി ഇടങ്ങഴി ൨. ഉടവാൾ പൂചിച്ച ചെഴം ടി കൊയിക്കൽ തെക്കെത്തളത്തിൽ എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നും മൂപ്പു വാഴവാൻ തറമെൽ മാരായൻ നിലവണി വിത്തി ചെഴം നിലവിളക്കു ൧. വിളക്കിനു തെ[ങ്ങ]ാ എണ്ണ തിരുവാഴ്‌പ്പടി.

കിണ്ണപതിക്ക കതലിപ്പഴം ൨ . . . . നെൽ ൧ [പ]റ. അഷ്ടമങ്ങിലിയത്തിന അരി ഇടങ്ങഴി ൧. നിറനാഴിക്ക അരി ഇടങ്ങഴി ൧. പള്ളിപ്പലകയിൽ വിരിപ്പാൻ കച്ച ൩. മെൽ കെട്ടിക്ക ചെലൈ ൪. തുണ്ടപൊതിവാൻ കച്ച ൪. വെളിയടൈക്ക കച്ച ൪. പാവാടൈക്ക കച്ച ൪. അഷ്ടമങ്ങില്ലിയം എടുത്ത ആട്ടുവാങ്ങൽ അച്ചിമാർക്ക ഉടുപ്പാനും ഉത്തരയത്തിനും കച്ച ൧. ടി മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ പള്ളിപ്പലകെയിൽ (ശേഷം ഇല്ല.)

Another ola

. . . . ൦ . . . ടിത്തരം.

രാമവർമ്മാ കല്ലിടൈയിരുന്നും ചെതുങ്കനാട്ടു തിരുമൂപ്പു വാഴ്ന്നവക.

വ്യ ത ർ ര ന ൿ

തൈയിഠ ൨൭ നു-

ആവണിപുരത്തു കിർട്ടിണനെ കാൺമ്മാൻ എഴുന്നരുള്ളുമ്പൊൾ ചെതുങ്കനാട്ടു മൂത്ത അമ്മ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക പത്തു പലത്തിൽ പട്ടു ൧. പണം ൨൪ പെറ കച്ചൈ ൧. ആവണി പുരത്തു കിർട്ടിണനെ കാൺമ്മാൻ എഴുന്നരുളുംപൊൾ ആട്ടുവാങ്ങൽ വീട്ടു അച്ചിമാർ അഷ്ടമങ്ങല്ലിയം എടുത്തുകൊണ്ടു വരവെണം. വാത്തിയങ്ങൾ ചെവിക്കെയും വെണം. ആവണിപുരത്തു കിർട്ടിണന പലം പത്തിനാൽ ചന്നണക്കറട്ടു ൧. [കാണിക്ക] പണം ൨൦ നിത്തൽ ച്ചെലവിൽ കൊടുത്തു. യെൻറും ചാർത്തുവാൻ ആറു പലത്തിൽ പട്ടു ൧. ടി കിട്ടിണനെ തൊഴുവാൻ നടയിൽ എഴുന്നരുളുംപൊൾ തി[രു]ക്കയ്യിൽ നിൻറും ഉടവാൾ വെണ്ടിക്കും . . . ച്ച ഉണ്ണിക്ക പണം ൫. ആക പടിത്താരത്തിൻ പടി ചെലവാൻ പണം ൩൬ത്രെ. ചെലവാന മെകവണ്ണ്, ൬. കച്ചൈ ൬. ചന്നണക്കറട്ടു ൧.

—T. K. J.

DOCUMENT d.

Ravi Varma assumes headship of Quilon royal family on 15th Alpasi 860 M. E., at Kallida palace near Quilon. This Ravi Varma is posterior to the period dealt with in Series 1. See Doc. e to i also for this king.

നയിനാർ ഇരവിവർമ്മരായ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ കല്ലിടൈ ഇരുന്നും ചെതുങ്കനാട്ടു മൂപ്പുവാഴുന്നരുളുകിൻറ വകക്ക പടിത്തരം.

വ്യത്യാസ ൿ.

അൽപചിഠ ൧൫നു-.

നയിനാർ തിർപ്പാപ്പൂർ ചൊരൂപത്തിൽ കാത്തിക നാൾ തിരു അവതാരം ചെയ്തരുളിയ ഇരവിവർമ്മരായ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ കല്ലിടൈ കൊയിക്കൽ എഴുന്നരുളി ഇരുന്നും ടി മാതം ൧൫നു- വിയാഴവാച്ചയും രൊകണിയും അമരപക്ഷത്തു തിതികയും പചുക്കരണവും പരീയാൻ നിത്തിയ യൊകവും അൻറു വിർച്ചികം രാചികൊണ്ടു ചിററടിക്കൽ(?) കൊയിക്കൽ ഇരുന്നും ചെയിത്തുങ്കനാട്ടു മൂപ്പുവാഴുന്നരുളിയ വകക്ക പടിത്തരം.

ടി കൊയിക്കൽ ഇടക്കെട്ടിൽ വടക്കെ തളത്തിൽ ഇരുന്നും നന്നിമുകം പുണ്ണിയാകം ചെയിത വകക്ക പടിത്തരം.

വിളക്കും കിണ്ണപതിയും. നിലവിളക്ക ൧. ടിക്ക തെങ്ങാ എണ്ണെ തിരുവാഴിപ്പടി. കിണ്ണപതിക്ക കതളിപ്പഴം ൨. പല്ലും പൂവും പൂയാപാത്തിറവും. അക്ഷതക്ക നെൽ ഇടങ്ങഴി ൪. ടിക്ക അരി ഇടങ്ങഴി ൫. മങ്ങല

ത്തു വാത്തിയാന്ന ഉടുപ്പാന്നും ഉത്തരിയത്തിന്നം കച്ച (൪൰?)൪ മുളത്തിൽ ൧. പള്ളിപ്പലക ൧. ടിയിൽ വിരിപ്പാൻ ചെല ൬. നന്നിമൃകം പെര൨൪ ക്ക പണം ൳ൽ പച്ചങ്കളം പണം ൨, പുലിയൂര൰പണം ൨, താമരച്ചെരി പണം ൨, തെങ്ങവെലി പണം ൨. ആക നന്നിമൃകം പുണ്ണിയാഹം പെര൨൪ ക്ക പണം ൳. പിറാച്ചിത്തം പെര൨൨ ക്ക പണം ൪. പുണ്ണിയാകത്തിന്ന ഉരുളി ൧. പിറണീതക്കണ്ണി ൧. കതളിവാഴകുല ൧.

Another ola.

വൃശ്ചിക ൧൦

അല്പചിന് ൰൫൰.

പള്ളിയിൽ കുറിപ്പിന്ന പണം ൰൧. ടിയാൻ പട്ടു വിചെഴാൽ പലം ൪-ൽ ൧. ഉടവാറം പൂചിച്ച മങ്ങലത്തു വാത്തിയാന്ന ആചാരി തെക്കുന്ന പണം ൰൧. ഉടവാറം എടുത്തുകൊട്ടത്ത ചവറ(?)കൊട്ട രാമൻ രാമന്ന പട്ടുപലം ൫൪യിൽ ൧. കച്ച ൧. വെള്ളികൊട്ട പിള്ളെക്ക പട്ടുപലം ൪൬ൽ ൧.

ഉടവാളും വെണ്ടിച്ചു പൂപ്പു വാണ ആവണിപുരത്തു കിർട്ടിണനൈ കാണ്മാൻ എഴുന്നരുളും പൊറം ചെയിതുങ്കനാട്ടു മൂത്ത കൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക പട്ടുപലം ൩൬ൽ ൧, പണം ൰൪ പെററ കച്ചെ ൧. ഇളയകൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക പട്ടുപലം ൫ൽ ൧, പണം പതിമൂന്നപെററ കച്ച ൧. ടി മൂന്നാംമുറക്ക പട്ടുപലം ൪൫ൽ ൧, കച്ചെ ൧. കൊച്ചുണ്ണി പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക പട്ട[പല]ം ൪൫ൽ ൧, കച്ചെ ൧. ടി ഇളയ കൊച്ചപണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക പട്ടപലം ൪൬ൽ പട്ട ൧, കച്ചെ ൧. തറമെൽ മാരായന്ന വിചെഴാൽ പണം നാലുപെററ കച്ച ൧. ടിയാന്ന പണം ൪. ആവണിപുരത്തു കിർട്ടിണനെ കാൺമ്മാൻഎഴുന്നരുളും പൊറം നാട്ടുചുങ്ങൾ (?)അച്ചിമാര൪അഴ൰ട്ടമങ്ങലിയം എടുക്ക വെണ്ടും. വാത്തിയങ്ങളൊട്ടും കൂട കിർട്ടിണനെ കാൺകയിൽ ടി കിർട്ടിണന്ന ചാത്തുവാൻ പട്ടപലം ൪൫ൽ ൧.

Another ola.

വൃശ്ചിക ൧൦.

പലം ൰ൽ ചന്നണക്കറട്ട ൧ക്ക പണം ൨ കിർട്ടിണനെ തൊഴവാൻ നടൈയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളുംപൊറം തിർക്കയ്യിൽ നിൻറും ഉടവാറം വെണ്ടിച്ച കയ്യിൽ പിടിച്ച ഉണ്ണിക്ക പണം ൳. ആക പടിത്തരത്തിൻ പടി ചെലവാന മെകവണ്ണം പട്ടു ൰൧. കച്ചെ ൰൧ ൰൪. പണവക പണം ൩൩ൻ൰൧. ചന്നണക്കറട്ട ൧. ആക പണവകയും പട്ടും കച്ചയും ചന്നണക്കറട്ടും നീങ്കലാക എല്ലൈരും ചെതുങ്കനാട്ടു ചൊരുപത്തിൽ നി.:റും ഒരുക്കണം.

—T. K. J.

DOCUMENT e.

Ravi Varma asumes headship of Trppappur royal family on 3rd Tai 860. M. E. A rebellion of 852 M. E. against the Senior Rani of Attingal, probably after the demise of Aditya Varma (Series 1, p. 12, No. 13) in the month of Masi, is mentioned.

നയിനാര൰ ഇരവി വർമ്മരായ ചിറവായ൰ മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ തിർപ്പാപ്പൂര൰ മൂപ്പു വാണരുളിന വകൈക്ക ചെയിതി.

വൃശ്ചമ [illegible]
തൈയിഥ് മനു.

തിർപ്പാപ്പൂരം ചൊരുപത്തിൽ കാത്തി
കനാറും തിരു അവതാരം ചെയ്തരുളിയ ഇര
വി വർമ്മെരെൻറ തിരുനാമപ്പെരുടയ ചി
റവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളി ഇടത്തിൻ പ
ണ്ടാരത്തിലും, അച്ചപതി തിരുനാറും തിരു
അവതാരം ചെയിതരുളിയ ആററങ്ങൽ മൂ
ത്ത കൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നരുളി ഇടത്തിൽ പണ്ടാ
രത്തിലും തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു എഴുന്നരുളി
ഇരുന്നും, തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു പള്ളികൊ
ണ്ടരുളുകിൻറ പെരുമാറും ശ്രീപൽപ്പനാപ
പെരുമാറും ചെത്തിറത്തിൽ മൂന്നാറും നടൈ
അടച്ച്യ പൂചൈ മുട്ടി കിടക്കയിൽ അടിയ
ന്തിരവും പൂചൈയും നടത്തെണം എന്നു
തിരുവുള്ളം പററി അരുളി കൽപ്പിക്കയിൽ,
പെരുമാറും ശ്രീ പൽപ്പനാപ പെരുമാറും
ചെത്തിറത്തിൽ പള്ളികൊണ്ടരുളിയ തിരു
മുടിക്കമെൽ ശ്രീമാനയ(?) മുറിച്ച്യ പൊന്നി
നാൽ തകടും ചാരത്തിയ തിരുപിടൈ
യാടൈയും ചാർത്തി ഇരുന്ന പൊൻ തക
ടും പൊന്നിനാൽ തകടുകളും പിരിച്ച്യ എ
ടുത്തു പൊകയും ചെയിതു. തിരുമനവും പ
ഞ്ചകത്തും വിരുത്തി എറുക്കെണമെന്നും ക
ൽപ്പിക്കകൊണ്ടു തിരുമുൻമ്പു നിന്നും യാങ്ങ
റും ഒളിച്ച്യപൊകകൊണ്ടു പഞ്ചകത്തു നമ്പി
മെയി കാവലായി ഇരുത്തിയചെഴം നടൈ
തുറക്കെണമെന്നു തിരുവുള്ള മരുളി കൽപ്പി
ച്ച്യ എട്ടരൈ യൊകത്തെ തിരുവാൻമ്പാടി
യിൽ തിരുവാം തെക്കമുറിയിൽ കൂടി ഇരു
ന്നു ക്ഷെത്തിറ കാരിയം നിരുവിപ്പാൻ ഇ
ളമ്പയിൽ പൽപ്പനാപൻ കെരുളനൊടും
ക്ഷെത്തിറ കാരിയക്കാറരൊടും കുളത്തൂര് ക
ണക്ക കാളി കാളിയെയും കഴക്കൂട്ടം കണക്ക

പെരുമാൻ കണ്ടനെയും പാക്കൊട്ടു കണ
ക്ക അയ്യപ്പൻ അയ്യപ്പനയും വരുത്തി തിരു
വുള്ളം പററി അരുളി കൽപ്പിക്കയിൽ, തി
രുവാൻമ്പാടിയിൽ തിരുവാം തെക്കമുറിയി
ൽ എട്ടരൈയൊകവും ക്ഷെത്തി കാരിയം
കാരിയക്കാറരും എളമ്പയിൽ പൽപ്പനാപ
ൻ കെരുളനാ പിള്ളൈമാരും കൂടി

(2nd ola)

വൃശ്ചമ [illegible]
തൈഥ് മനു.

ക്ഷെത്തിറകാരിയംനിരുവിച്ച്യാറെ,യൊക
ത്തിൽ നിന്നും ഒണ്ടായ മൊഴി:—നടൈ തു
റന്നു ഇപ്പൊറും അൽപ്പ പൂചൈ നടക്കയി
ൽ തിരുമുള തൊട്ടു കലചാ നിരുപവിപ്പാ
നും കൊടി എറി തിരു ഉത്സവം നടത്തുവാ
നും ചെയിതുങ്കനാട്ടു മൂപ്പും തിർപ്പാപ്പൂരം
മൂപ്പും വാഴുന്നെ കലചവും തിരു ഉൽസവ
വും നിരുപവിക്കാവു എന്നു യൊകത്തിൽ
നിന്നും ഒണ്ടായ മൊഴി, ക്ഷെത്തിറകാരിയ
ക്കാറരും ഇളമ്പയിൽ പൽപ്പനാപൻ കെ
രുളനും മൂന്നു കൂട്ടത്തിൽ അന്നു മൂത്തപി
ള്ളൈമാരും ആററങ്ങൽ മൂപ്പിൽ അറിവി
ച്ച്യാറെ, യൊകത്തിൽ നിന്നും ഒണ്ടായ പി
റകാരം തന്നെ അൽപ്പ പൂച നടപ്പാൻ ത
ക്കവണ്ണവും കൽപ്പിച്ച്യമൊഴി എട്ടരൈ യൊ
കത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞാറെ, തരുണ നല്ലൂര് ന
മ്പിയെ നീക്കവാൻ പിഴ എന്തെന്നു കെട്ടാ
റെ—വൃശ്ചമ മാണ്ടു പിള്ളൈമാര് കുറിപ്പു
മ്മാരു പിണങ്ങി പൊകത്താഴി വീരകെരു
ളവർമ്മരൈ വരുത്തി ആററങ്ങൽ മൂപ്പനൊ
ടു പടൈ പാവിച്ച്യ പിണങ്ങി ഇരിക്കയിൽ
വൃശ്ചമ മാണ്ടു ആവണി മാതം രൊകണി
ആട്ടത്തിരുനാറും തിരുമുടികലചം നിരുപവി
ച്ച്യ,കൽക്കുളത്തു ഇരുന്നും ചരച്ചപതി പൂച

യും നിരപവിച്ചു. അതിനെക്കൊണ്ട തരുണ നല്ലൂര് പല്പ്പനാപൻതിരുവിക്കറമന ക്ഷെത്തിറത്തിൽ ചമ്മന്തവും ചൊത്രുപത്തിൽ ചമ്മന്തവുംനീക്കണം. അമ്മൊഴിയൊകത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞാറെ കൽപ്പിച്ചവണ്ണം കാരിയമെന്നുംയൊകത്തിൽഒള്ളവര ചമ്മതിക്കയിൽ, വടക്കനിന്നും തകരപ്പുരത്തു നാരായണ (മങ്ങ)ലത്തു ചിങ്ങൻ അക്കിരമനെ വരുത്തി നടൈ തുറന്ന അൽപ്പ പൂചൈ നടന്നിരിക്കവെ പൽപ്പാഞ്ഞലയും നിരപവിപ്പിച്ചു പൂചൈ മൂന്നും നടക്കെയും ചെയിതു.

അങ്ങനെ ഇരിക്കവെ കലചവും തിരുവുൽസവവും നടത്തെണമെന്ന തിരുവുള്ളം പററി അരുളി കൽപ്പിക്കയിൽ, ചെയിതുങ്കനാട്ടു ചൊത്രുപത്തിലെക്കും ചിറവായി ചൊത്രുപത്തിലെക്കും തിർപ്പാപ്പൂര് ചൊത്രുപത്തിലെക്കും മൂന്ന ചൊത്രുപത്തിലെക്കും അന്ന മൂപ്പു തിർപ്പാപ്പൂര് ചൊത്രുപത്തിൽ ചിറവായ് മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക വരികകൊണ്ടു, [illegible] മാണ്ടു അൽപ്പചി മാതം [illegible] ചെയിതുങ്കനാട്ടു മൂപ്പുവാഴവാൻ

(3rd ola)

ആററങ്ങൽ മൂത്ത കൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും നയിനാര് ഇരവിവമ്മരായ ചിറവായ് മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും കൂട കല്ലിടൈ എഴുന്നരുളി ചെയിതുങ്ക നാട്ടു മൂപ്പും വാണ, തിരിച്ചു കൊല്ലത്തു എഴുന്നരുളി നാലു തിവതം ഇരുന്ന ചെഴം, അവിടെ നിന്നും ആററങ്ങൽ എഴുന്നരുളി നാലു തിവതം ഇരിക്കെയും ചെയിതു.

തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു എഴുന്നരുളി നാളത്തു രാമനമടത്തിൽ എഴുന്നരുളി ചെയിതുങ്കനാട്ടു മൂപ്പും വാണ ഇരിക്കവെ, പെരുമാൾ ശ്രീ പല്പ്പനാപ പെരുമാൾ ക്ഷെത്തിറത്തിൽ ചീപണ്ടാരം കണ്ടു കെട്ട തീത്തുവൈക്കെണ്ടുന്നതു കെട്ട തീത്തു വൈക്കെയും ഒരുക്കെണ്ടുന്നതു ഒരുക്കുകെയും ചെയ്യെണമെന്ന തിരുവുള്ളം പററി അരുളി കൽപ്പിക്കയിൽ, എട്ടരെയൊകവും കൂടവെണ്ടുന്നതിന തവൈ ആറതിൽ, കരുവൈ വകക്ക അന്ന [ഞ്ഞ]ഴം മുടിഞ്ഞുപൊകകൊണ്ടും നെയിതച്ചെരി വകക്കും അന്നഴം മുടിഞ്ഞുപൊകകൊണ്ടും, മുട്ടവിളക്കും അന്നഴം മുടിഞ്ഞുപൊക കൊണ്ടും, ചെഴം ഒള്ള തവൈ നൽതവൈയിൽ മൂത്ത കൂവക്കൈരെത്തെൻ പത്തനാപനും അത്തിയറയും അന്നഴം മുടിഞ്ഞുപൊകയിൽ തിട്ടമങ്ങലത്തു നാരായണൻ ശ്രീതരനെ പട്ടം ഇരുത്തി അത്തിയറ നാരായണൻ ശ്രീതരനും ചീകാരിയം പൊൻങ്കണ്ണൻകുഴി അനരുത്തിരനും തവൈയും തവഞ്ചിതനും തെചി വടക്കരും ശ്രീ കരണമ്പള്ളിയാടി ഈച്ചുവരൻകാമനുംകരണകണകനും ശ്രീ പണ്ടാരക്കണക്ക കൊവിന്തൻഈച്ചുവരനുംക്ഷെത്തിറ കാരിയം നാരായണൻ കണ്ടനും കുറിച്ചി [ഉ]ഴത്തിരൻ കണ്ടനും മാതപ്പള്ളിൽ നാരായണൻ നാരായണനും കൂട, ക്ഷെത്തിറ കാരിയം ചെയ്യുംപെരും ചൊത്രുപകാരിയംപല്പ്പനാപൻ കെരുളനും കുളത്തുര് കണക്ക കാളികാളിയും കഴക്കൂട്ടം കണക്ക പെരുമാൻ കണ്ടനും പാക്കൊട്ടു കണക്ക അയ്യപ്പൻ അയ്യപ്പനും കൂടി ശ്രീ പണ്ടാരം കണ്ടു പൊന്നിനാൽ കെരുടൻെറ ഇടത്തുകയിൽ മണിക്കെട്ടിന മെൽ അനന്തനെന്നും

(The remaining ola or olas missing).

— T. K. J.

Another ola.

നയിനാര് ഇരവിവമ്മരാചാ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ തിർപ്പാപ്പൂര് മൂപ്പുവാഴ്ന്നരുളുകിൻറ വകക്കപടിത്തരം.

(Ola No.) ൨൭൨൨൮വ്യ.

൮൭൩മതു ൟ തൈഞ് ൩൩-.

നയിനാര് ഇരവിവമ്മരാചാ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൽ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ തിർപ്പാപ്പൂര് മൂപ്പുവാഴ്ന്നരുളുകിൻറ വകക്ക തിർപ്പാപ്പൂര് മകതെവരം കൊവിലിൽ കിഴക്കെ അമ്പലത്തിൽ വടക്കെ മുറിയിൽ [ഇരു]ന്നും തരുണനല്ലൂരാ ഇ[ ] കലചം നിരപവിക്ക വെണ്ടുന്നതിന മുന്നാം ൮൭൩മത മാണ്ട പിണക്കംകൊണ്ട പൊകത്താഴിയിൽ നിന്നും കൽക്കുളത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളുകയിൽ കലചം നിരപവിക്കകൊണ്ട ടിയാൻ അല്ലന്നും വച്ചു തകരപുരത്തു നാരായണമങ്ങലത്തിനെ വരുത്തിച്ചു പെരുമാൾ ശ്രീപൽപ്പനാപ പെരുമാൾക്ക നടയും തുറപ്പിച്ചു ടിയാനെക്കൊണ്ട പൂചയും നിരപവിക്കിയിൽ, ടിയാനെക്കൊണ്ട കലചം നിരപവിപ്പാൻ കൽപ്പിക്കയിൽ തിർപ്പാപ്പൂര് മകതെവരം കൊവിലിൽ തിരുമൂപ്പു വാഴ്ന്ന അരുളുന്നതിനും മുൻമ്പെ ടി തകരപുരത്തു നാരായണമങ്ങലത്തു ഇളയനരചിങ്ങൻ നാരായണൻ നാളതു പുതനാഴ്ച്ചയും ഉത്തിരാട്ടതിയും പൂരവ പഴ്ഴത്തു അഴ്ട്ടമിയും ചിവനിത്തിയയൊകവും കാ കരണവും അന്ന അത്തമിച്ചു വിർച്ചികം രാചികൊണ്ട തിരുമുടിക്കലചം വകക്ക പൊന്നിനാൽ ഒരുക്കിച്ച തിരു[മുടി] നിലം [മൂൻ]നടിവച്ചു പൂചിച്ചു കലചം [ആ]ടി അരുളുന്ന വക പടിത്തരം പണ്ടാരമായിട്ട ഒരുക്കിന വക (The rest blank)

—T. K. J.

DOCUMENT f.

Ravi Varma assumes headship of Trppappur royal family on 3rd Tai 860 M. E. The rebellion against the Senior Rani of Attingal is mentioned. See Doc. e.

൮൬൦-ാമാണ്ട തൈമാസം ൩൩-.

നയിനാർ ഇരവിവർമ്മരായ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ നയിനാർ തൃപ്പാപ്പൂർ മഹാദേവർ കോവിലിൽ വടക്കേ അമ്പലത്തിൽ എഴുന്നരുളി ഇരുന്നും തിരുമുടികലശം നിരഭവിച്ചശേഷം തിരുവാഭരണം തൃപ്പാപ്പുമൂപ്പു കൊള്ളുന്ന വകക്ക പന്നിയൂർ ശിവശരി കരുംവലപ്പുരയിൽ ചെമ്പിനാൽ നെടിയ ചതുരപ്പെട്ടക (പൊടിവു)തിരുവാഭരണം ഉൾപ്പട ചൊട്ടയും മററും പലവകയും കുറിപ്പന്മാർ പിണങ്ങിയ...... കെരുളവമ്മാ എഴുന്നരുളിച്ച ആററങ്ങൽ മൂത്തകൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിനൊട പടയും പൊരുതു ഇരിക്കവെ പണ്ടാരപിള്ള ഈശ്വരൻ കുന്നനും ചെറുപള്ളിയിൽ കണക്ക അയ്യപ്പൻ മാത്താണ്ടനും കൂടെ കരുവെലപ്പുര ഇടിച്ചെട്ടത്തുകൊണ്ട പോകയിൽ തിരുവാഭരണവും ചൊട്ടയും വെണ്ടുന്നതിന കുളത്തൂർ കണക്ക കാളികാളിയും കഴക്കൂട്ടത്തു കണക്ക പെരുമാൻ കണ്ടനും കൂടെ ആററങ്ങൽ മൂപ്പിൽ അറിവിച്ച തിരുവാഭരണം പൊന്നിൻ ചൊട്ടയും ഒരുകിച്ച വടക്കെ അമ്പലത്തിൽ നിന്നും തിരുമുടിയും തിരുവടിനിലയും വച്ചുകെട്ടി ചാത്തി ചൊട്ടയും കയ്യിൽ എടുത്തു തിരുമൂപ്പുകൊള്ളുവാൻ തെക്കെ അമ്പലത്തിൽ എഴുന്നരുളി തിരുവടിനിലയും തിരുമുടിയിൽനിന്നും ചൊട്ടയും വച്ചു തൃപ്പാപ്പുമൂപ്പുകൊള്ളുന്ന വകക്കുടി

പള്ളിപ്പലകയിൽ ഇരുന്നു തൃപ്പാപ്പൂ മൂപ്പുകൊള്ളുകയിൽ ....

The above copy was made some years ago by another transcriber. As the original ola is missing it is not possible to give a more accurate transcript.

—T. K. J.

DOCUMENT g.

Ravi Varma visits the Kanchipuram Madom in Trivandrum on 4th Tai 860 M. E.

൮൬൦-ാമാണ്ടു തൈമാസം ൪൹-.

തൃപ്പാപ്പൂമൂപ്പുവാണരുളുകയിൽ കാഞ്ചീപുരത്തുമഠത്തിൽ എഴുന്നരുളുകയിൽ പടിത്തരം. ടി മഠത്തിൽ കിഴക്കെപ്പുറത്തു വടക്കെ മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ വിളക്കും ഗണപതിയും ...... എഴുന്നരുളുമ്പോൾ പഞ്ചവാദ്യത്തൊടു കരവയൊടും കൂടെ ടി മഠത്തിൽനിന്നും അച്ചിമാർ ൨ണ്ടു അഷ്ടമംഗല്യം എടുത്തും കൊണ്ടു നടക്കാവിന്റെ അവിടെവന്നു എതിരെററു എഴുന്നരുളുമ്പോൾ ടി മഠത്തിൽ ഇടയാടിയിൽ പാവാടക്കു ൧ർ മുഴത്തിൽ ചെല-൧, ആക ഈ വകപ്പടി ടി മഠത്തിൽ പിള്ളമാർ വച്ചൊരുക്കിയതിന്റെ ശെഷം പള്ളിപ്പലകയിൽ കിഴക്കുനൊക്കി വലത്തുതൃക്കാൽ മുന്നെ വച്ചു എഴുന്നരുളിഇരുന്ന ശെഷം തെവാരം ചൊണ്ണാട്ടുപള്ളി നെല്ലും അരിയും എടുത്തു മൂന്നുവട്ടം തിരുമുടിയിൽ (ശേഷം ഇല്ലാ).

Not an accurate transcript. See remarks at the end of Doc. f. — T. K. J.

DOCUMENT h.

Ravi Varma visits Sri Padmanabhaswami temple in Trivandrum on 4th Tai 860 M. E.

ഇരാമചെയം.

പടിത്തരം.

നയിനാരു് ഇരവിവമ്മരായ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയിടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ തിർപ്പപ്പൂരു് മൂപ്പുവാണ പെരുമാളെകാണ്മാൻ എഴുന്നള്ളുകയിൽ പടിത്തരം.

൮൬൦ മ ൧൭ തൈയി൪ ൪൹-

നയിനാരു് ഇരവിവമ്മരായ ചിറവായി മൂത്തയിരുന്നരുളിടത്തിൻപണ്ടാരത്തിൽ തിർപ്പാപ്പൂവാണ തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു എഴുന്നരുളി പെരുമാൾ ശ്രീ പൽപ്പനാപ പെരുമാളെ കാൺമ്മാൻ നാളത്തു ഇടം രാചികൊണ്ടു കാഞ്ചിപുരത്തു മടത്തിൽ നിന്നും എഴുന്നള്ളുകയിൽ ടി നടക്കാവിൽ നിന്നും മുൻമ്പെ ഉള്ള അഴു്ട്ടമങ്ങില്ലിയങ്ങളും മെളവാത്തിയവും കൊടികൾ കുടകളും .... വിളക്കും എടുത്തു മുൻമ്പിൽ .... മതിലകതു് [തു] മെക്കെ കൊവിൽ വാതലിൽ കൂടി അകത്തു കടന്നു തളൈക്കല്ലിൽ കൂടി ഒരു വളൈയം വലത്തുവച്ചു എഴുന്നരുളുംപൊൾ കരുമ്പുതണ്ടു നാലിലും വീരകാളിപട്ടു കെട്ടി തിരുമുടിക്കു മെൽ പിടിച്ചു കിഴക്കെ വെലിക്കല്പുര മണ്ഡപത്തിൽകൂട അകത്തു എഴുന്നെള്ളി ഒരു വളൈയം വലത്തുവച്ചു പെരുമാളെ കാങ്കയിൽ,

പെരുമാൾക്കു കാണിക്ക പണം ൩ ൧. ടി പെരുമാൾക്കു ചാത്തുവാൻ കൊട്ടത്തത്തിൽ [വെള്ള]കൊല്ലപ്പട്ടു തുപ്പട്ടി ൧. ടിൽതെക്കിൻ പെരുമാൾക്കു കാണിക്ക പണം ൧ ൧. ടിൽ അയ്യപ്പൻ ചാത്താവിനു കാണിക്കപണം ... തിരുവാം [പാടിയിൽ ...]

—T. K, J.

DOCUMENT i.

Ravi Varma assumes headship of Trppappur royal family on 3rd Tai 860 M. E. ,visits Sri Padmanabha on the 4th, and goes to Karuppu Koikal palace the same day.

കരുപ്പുകൊയിക്കൽ എഴുന്നരുളുകയിൽ
പടിത്തരം.

വൃൗസ്സര ൮൬ തൈയി ൩ ൹-

നയിനാരു ഇരവിവമ്മരായ ചിറവായി
മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ ടിമാതം ൩
൹- തിരുപ്പാപ്പൂരു മൂപ്പുവാണ ൪൹- ശ്രീ പ
ത്മ്രീ പൽപ്പനാപ പെരുമാളെയും കണ്ടു നാ
ളു ടി തമില [തിമില, തകിൽ?] തമ്പട്ടം
വാച്ചിയത്തൊടും കൊട്ടുമൺ വഞ്ചിമുട്ടം മാ
ങ്ങൊട്ടു മുണ്ടകൽ അച്ചിമാരും ക്രൂടി അഴു
ട്ടമങ്ങല്ലിയവും എടുത്തു കരുപ്പു കൊയിക്ക
ൽ എഴുന്നരുളുമ്പൊൾ ടി കൊവിലിൽ മെ
ക്കെപ്പി[റത്തു] ഇടവഴി അരുകത്തു കൊട്ടി
യമ്പലത്തിന പിറത്തു വന്ന പൊന്നിൻ ത
ളുകയിലും വെള്ളി തളുകയിലും (one column
lost) തെക്കെ ഇലങ്ക കെട്ടിൽ വിളക്കും കി
ണ്ടവതിയും വെച്ചു രെട്ടിണകമ്പിളിമെൽ
കിഴക്കനൊക്കി എഴുന്നരുളി ഇരുന്ന ടി അ
ഴുട്ടമങ്ങല്ലിയം എടുത്തു പെരുമാൾ തിരു
മുൻമ്പിൽക്കൊണ്ടുഅഴ് ട്ടമങ്ങല്ലിയം വെച്ചു
ടിയാരു നെല്ലും അരിയും നള്ളി വിളക്കിലും
ഇട്ടു തിരുമുടിയിലും ഇട്ടിതു. ടി യിൽ ഇരു
ന്നാ ആററങ്ങൽ മൂപ്പിലെക്ക പട്ടുംകച്ചയും
വെച്ചു നമക്കരിക്കയും ചെയിതു. തിരുമുടി
യിൽ ചാർത്തിഇരുന്ന തിരുവടി നില ഇറ
ക്കി ടികൊവിക്കൽ അകത്തു വെയ്ക്കയും ചെ
യിതു. ടി തിരുമുടിനില ൩-ം തിവതം അ
ഴിച്ചു പൊയിതു. (The rest blank).

—T. K. J.

DOCUMENT j.

Rama Varma head of Chiravay, & hence the ruling king, assumed headship (of which house ?) at Tiruvattar palace on 1st Panguni 896 M. E. Some incidents of 24th Panguni, 1st, 5th, 6th, 7th, 13th & 16th Chithira 896 M. E., and of 837 M. E. are mentioned.

വൃൻസ്സ മാണ്ടു
ചിത്തിരമാസം ൧൬ ൹.

നയിനാർ രാമവമ്മരായ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത
ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൽ മുന്നാം വൃൻസ്സ-
മത പങ്കുനിമാസം ൧ ൹- തിരുവട്ടാററു തൊ
ണിമൺ കൊവിക്കൽ എഴുന്നരുളി ഇരുന്നും
തിരുമൂപ്പുകൊണ്ടു തിരു (പൊടിവു) തിരു
വെഴുത്തും ചാത്തി,

ടി മാസം ൨൪ ൹- തൊരുവചിനങ്ങളൊ
ടും ക്രൂടി ആഗൊഷത്തൊടും തിരുവട്ടാററു
നിന്നും എഴുന്നരുളി നയിനാർ തിരുവിതാം
കൊട്ടു മഹാദേവരെയും നയിനാർ കെരുളപു
രത്തു മഹാദേവരയും നയിനാർ കൽക്കുളത്തു
മഹാദേവരയും എഴുന്നരുളി തൃക്കൺ പാക്കു
ന്നതിന ടി കൊവിൽ ൩-ലും കലശമാട്ടു നി
രുവേിക്കാഴിക കൊണ്ടു, കുംഭരാശി കൊണ്ടു
കൽക്കുളത്തു വലിയ നീരാഴിക്കരെ കൊവി
ക്കൽ എഴുന്നരുളി ഇരുന്നും,

ചിത്തിര വിഷു ൧ ൹- ബുധനാഴ്ച ൫൨ നാ
ഴികക്ക സംക്രമിക്കകൊണ്ടു നയിനാർ വെറം
വിമല വേലായുധപ്പെരുമാൾ കൊവിലിൽ
എഴുന്നരുളി തൃക്കൺ നൊക്കി തിരികെ കൽ
ക്കുളത്തു വലിയ നീരാഴിക്കരെ കൊവിക്കൽ
എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നും തൃകൈ ചിറപ്പും നിവ
ഭവിച്ചു,

ടി മാസം ൫ ൹- നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടിൽ രണ്ടുവ
രെ നാട്ടാരിടെ സങ്കടവും തീത്തു കടിയെ
ററിച്ചു,

നാൾ ചെയ്യിക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം തൊരുവചിനങ്ങൾ പതിനാറു പെരൊടും ആഗൊഷത്തൊടും കൂടെ ൯ ൹ കാലത്തു ഭൂതപ്പാണ്ടിയിൽ എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നു,

൧ ൹ ദശനംകൊപ്പിൽ കൂടിയിരുന്ന നാട്ടാരയും തൊരുവചിനങ്ങൾ൨൰പെരയും അയച്ചു കൂട്ടി കൊണ്ടുവന്നു ടി കൊവിലിൽ തെക്കെ ചുററിൽ കുലശെഖരമണ്ഡപത്തിൽ വന്നു മുഖം കാട്ടി സംകടം അറവിക്കയിൽ സംകടങ്ങളും തീൎത്തു നല്ലവണ്ണമായിട്ടു പൊറുപ്പിച്ചു കൊള്ളുമാറു കല്പിച്ചു നാട്ടാരിടെ സംകടം കാവുള്ളി കാണിയാഴ്ച ദെത്തു തത്തിപ്പു ശെഷം എടുത്തടക്കിയ വകയും രക്ഷാഭൊഗം കല്പനക്കറി അഞ്ചാലി പണം കൊട്ട പണം മരക്കാൽ പണം വകക്കു മുറിയിട്ട വകയിൽ കുടിശിഖയും നാട്ടാർ വയ്യൊല എഴുതിച്ചതിന്മണ്ണം തൊരുവചിനങ്ങളയും നാട്ടാരയും തിരുമുൻപാകെ വരുത്തിച്ചു വയ്യൊലയും വായിച്ചു കെട്ട തൊരുവചനങ്ങൾ ടി വയ്യൊലപ്പടി ഒഴിഞ്ഞു തമ്മതം എന്നും വയ്യൊലയിലും എഴുതിച്ചു ൻ൨൰ മത വരെ നടന്നതിന്മണ്ണം നടത്തി പൊറുപ്പിച്ചു കൊള്ളുമാറു എന്നും നാട്ടാരൊടും കല്പിച്ചു,

നാട്ടാരെ ൨൰ ൹ ആശ്രാമത്തു വന്നു കൂടത്തക്കവണ്ണം കല്പിച്ചു നാളത്തു ശുചീന്ദ്രത്തു തെക്കെ തെരുവിൽ പുത്തൻ കൊവിക്കൽ തൊരുവചിനങ്ങൾ ൨൰ പെരൊടും ആഗൊഷത്തൊടും എഴുന്നള്ളി ഇരുന്നു,

ടി മാസം ൨൰൯ ൹ വ്യാഴാഴ്ചയും രെവതിയും അമരപക്ഷത്തു ദ്വാദശിയും അന്നു മിഥുനം രാശി കൊണ്ടു നയിനാർ ശുചീന്ദ്ര മുടയനയിനാരെ തൃക്കാൻ ചാത്തുകയിൽ പടിത്തരം.

കൊവിലിൽ നിൻറു ഒരുക്കവെണ്ടും വക കൊവിക്കൽ നിന്നും എഴുന്നരുളി തിരുവെഞ്ജനവും പൊലിഞ്ഞു വടക്കെ തെരുവിൽ കൂടെ ഗൊപുരവാതലിൽ കൂടെ കൊവിലിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളുമ്പൊൾ മുറ കുട്ടിയിൽ മൂത്തകുടി ദേവതി അഷ്ടമംഗല്ല്യം കൊണ്ടു അനുപ്പുമണ്ഡപത്തിൽ എതിരെ വന്നു അഷ്ടമംഗല്ല്യം എടുത്തുകൊണ്ടു വരവെണം. വാതിങ്ങളും കൂടെ വന്നു കുരവയിട വെണം.

ടി ശ്രീ പണ്ഡാരത്തിൽ നിന്നും ഉദയരുമൻ മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ ൨൰ മുളത്തിൽ ൧ ചാൺ വീതിയിൽ പാവാട വിരിച്ചു ചെല ൨൦ തൊരുവത്തിൽ ഒള്ളവെരിൽ കുത്തുവിളക്കു എടുക്കംപെരു നാളത്തു വിളക്കെടുത്ത നെയ്യാററുങ്കര കുഞ്ചയ്യിക്കു അകത്തു ഇക്ഷ്വദേവക്കു തേരരുക കൂടി സന്നിധിയിൽ എഴുന്നരുളി നിന്നും തൃക്കൺനോക്കുകയിൽ മഹാദേവക്കു തൃക്കയ്യിൽ നിൻറും കാണിക്കയിട്ട പണം ൫൪. ചാത്തുവാൻ കുയിവഴിയിൽ നിൻറും പട്ടു കൊണ്ടുപൊകാഴികകൊണ്ടു ശ്രീപണ്ഡാരത്തിൽ നിന്നും പണം ൯൦ക്കു വെണ്ടിച്ചു ചാൎത്തിന മെഹവണ്ണപട്ട ൨.

വട്ടകപ്രസാധം മെൽ ശാന്തി കൊണ്ടുവന്നു കൊടുക്കണം. ശ്രീ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽനിന്നും ഉടവാളും തൃകൈയിൽ പരിശയും വട്ടപ്പള്ളി പട്ടർ തൃക്കയ്യിൽ കൊടുക്കണം. ശ്രീപണ്ഡാരത്തിൽ നിന്നും ൨൰ മുളത്തിൽ ൧ ചാൺ വീതിയിൽ കച്ച ൨. ടി വകപ്പടി കൊല്ലപട്ടു തുപ്പട്ടി ൨. നയിനാർ തെൻതിരുവെങ്കിടം വിണ്ണവർ എമ്പെരുമാൾക്കു കാണിക്കയിട്ട പണം ൨൨. ടിയിൽ നിൻറും വട്ടകപ്രസാതം മെൽ ശാന്തി കൊണ്ടുവന്നു

തൃക്കയ്യിൽ കൊട്ടുക്കണം. അഴക ചുററിൽപ്രദക്ഷിണമാക എഴുന്നരുളുമ്പൊ൦ (ശെഷം ഇല്ലാ).

The above is a copy prepared by another transcriber some years ago. As the ola is missing it is not possible to give an accurate transcript.

—T. K. J.

DOCUMENT 1.

Revenues settled on Unni Kerala Varma, head of the Pokam branch, and on Rama Varma and Aditya Varma his younger brothers, on 7th Purattasi 810 M. E.

൧. ഇരാമ ചെയം.
നീട്ടു കൊടുത്ത വക.

പൊകത്തായി വഴിയിൽ ഉൻണ്ണി കെരുളവമ്മരായ പൊകത്തു മൂത്തിൻ ഇരുന്നരുളിയടത്തിൽ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക യാമ്മിയ തിരിച് ച്ച വകൈ.

൮ ൱ ൰ ആം.
പുരട്ടാതി ൭ നു-

ച
ക (ന്റ)൯൰൪ (*Ola No.*)

പൊകത്താവഴിയിൽ പൊകത്തായി വഴി ഉൻണ്ണി കെരുള വമ്മരായ പൊകത്തു മൂത്തിൻ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ യിടത്തിൽ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക യാമ്മിയത്തിന തെഷം തിരിച്ചു ക്കുറിട്ടു കൊടുത്ത വകൈ.

പാനപ്പിള്ള ആതിച്ച്[ച . . .] മരിച്ചു . . . ന്ന മൂന്നരൈ ഉള്ളിട്ട പാററിൽ കൊട്ടൈ . . . കൈ പന്നവകൈ ആലയടിയാര് ഇരെക്കിഴാകപൊകം കെട്ടറ ചി[ററ]റൈ ഉലപ്പട്ടതു എലപ്പെര് പ്പട്ടതും നാളതു മുതൽക്ക യാവിച്ചു കൊള്ളമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ചു കൊടുത്ത നീട്ടു ൧.

നാളതു ഇളയരാമവർമ്മ ഇരുന്നരുളിയയിടത്തിൽ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക ആണ്ടു ൧ക്കു അട്ടത്തുൺ നീക്കിന നെല്ലു [൪]൱൨൰ കലൻ. പണ വകൈ പണം ൩൱൬൰ക്ക വകൈയിട്ട ഇടത്തുറൈ തെവൻ കെചവൻ പെരാൽ കഴത്തുറൈ മുളകുചുങ്കം ഒന്നപാതിയിൽ പണം ൩൱൬൰ക്ക കണക്ക അയ്യപ്പെൻ മാത്താണ്ടനും ൦ പൊകം പെരിൽ കൽക്കളത്തു ഉ൱ട്ടുപുള്ളിയിൽ നെൽ ൧൱൨൰ കലൻ.

ടി വകൈ മൂന്നാം മുറൈ ആതിത്തിയവർമ്മാ ഇരുന്നരുളിയിടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക പണം ൧൱വ്യ൰ക്കും നെൽ ൬൰ കലനക്കും വകൈ അയ്യപ്പെൻ പെരുമാൻപെരാൽ കഴത്തുറൈ മുളകുചുങ്കം വകൈയിൽ പണം ൧൱വ്യ൰ ൦ അയ്യപ്പെൻ പൽപ്പനാപൻ പെരാൽ കൽക്കളത്തു ഉ൱ട്ടുപുള്ളിയിൽ നെൽ ൬൰ കലൻ [വചം നെര്?] ടിയിൽ കാരിയക്കാററ് കൊച്ചുകൊവിന്തൻ ചെൺമ്പകരാമപ്പിള്ളക്ക നീക്കിന പണം ൧൨൰ക്ക വകൈ, ഇളമ്പയിൽ പൽപ്പനാപൻ പൽപ്പനാപൻ പെരാൽ കൊട്ടാറ വകയിൽ പണം ൧൱൨൰ [നെര?]. (The rest blank).

—T. K. J.

DOCUMENT 2.

Sacred thread ceremony of junior prince Ravi Varma in his 16th year, at Attingal on 21st Tai 829 M. E. He visits the ruling King Ravi Varma at Trivandrum on 23rd idem, when revenues from Tikkurichchi are settled on him by the King to be enjoyed from the following month. Tikkurichchi palace and lands were in Aditya Varma's possession till 785 M. E.

വ്യ൨൯_ാമാണ്ട
തൈമാസം ൨൩൹.

നയിനാർ ഇരവിവമ്മ കൊച്ചുണ്ണി പണ്ടാരത്തിലേക്ക സമാവത്തനം നിവഭവിച്ച ടി മാസം ൨൭൹ ൭ന്ന തിരുവയതിൽ ആററങ്ങൽ ഇരുന്ന തിരുമ°ടമ്പു കൊണ്ട, ടിമാസം ൨൩൹ തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു എഴുന്നരുളി നയിനാർ ഇരവി വമ്മരായ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയിടത്തിൻ 'പണ്ടാരത്തിലെ മുഖം കാട്ടി, നാളതു തിക്കറിച്ചി വകയാക ഉള്ള നെൽവക പണവകക്ക തെവാരം പൊകത്തുശിത്രുമാൻ [?] നാരായണൻ പേർപട നീട്ടകൊട്ടപ്പാൻ കല്പിച്ച നാളതു നീട്ടകൊട്ടത്ത വക. മുന്നാം വ്യ൭൦_ാമാണ്ട വരക്കം നയിനാർ ആദിത്തവമ്മ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൽ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ യാവിച്ച പൊന്ന തിക്കറിച്ചി കൊയിക്കലും നെൽവക പണവക വസ്തുവും കൂട വ്യ൨൯_ാമാണ്ട മാശിമാസം മുതൽക്ക യാപിച്ച കൊള്ളമാറും കല്പിച്ചകൊട്ടത്ത നീട്ട.

The above is a copy (not accurate) prepared some years ago by another transcriber. The original ola is missing.

—T. K. J.

DOCUMENT 3.

Ruling King Ravi Varma settles revenues on junior prince Rama Varma, at Attingal, on 29th Tai 855 M. E., to be enjoyed from the beginning of 856 M. E.

ഇരാമചെയം.
നീട്ടകൊട്ടത്തവക.

നയിനാര° രാമവമ്മാ കൊച്ച പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക മണലിക്കരൈ വകൈക്ക നീട്ടകൊട്ടത്തവക.

വ്യ൮൫൫
തൈയിഠ° ൨൯൹.
(*Ola* No.) ൨൪൭൪.

നയിനാര°ഇരവിവർമ്മരായ ചിറവായി മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻപണ്ടാരത്തിൻ ആററങ്ങൽ കൊവിക്കൽ എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നു നയിനാര°രാമവർമ്മാ കൊച്ച പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക നീട്ടകൊട്ടത്തവക.

മണലിക്കരൈ വകൈ [കെ]ാട്ടയും കൊയിക്കലും കൊതനല്ലൂര° അതികാരം ഊട്ടപ്പള്ളി വകൈയും ടി വകൈ തടിക്കരുണിയും നട്ടാലം വകൈ നെൽവകൈ പണവകൈയും കൊതൈ മാവെലി വകൈയും കെട്ടിറ ചിററിറ ഇറക്കീഴാകപ്പൊകവും വകൈയും മററും മലനാട്ട വക നെൽവക പണവക എർപ്പെര°പ്പട്ടതും നാഞ്ചിനാട്ട വകൈ കട്ടക്കരൈ വെൺമ്പാഴ വ[ല്ലാൻ or പെരാൻ]ന്മകടിഉള്ളിട്ട കണ്ടഴവുവകൈയും വിട്ടിണപുരത്തു കീഴെനിലവും മററും മണലിക്കരൈവകൈ നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടവകൈ നെൽവകൈ പണവകൈ എർപ്പെര°പ്പട്ടതും കൂട വ്യ൮൫൬ മാണ്ട ആവണിമാതം മുതൽക്ക യാവിച്ച കൊള്ളമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ച തെവാരി പെരുപട നാളതു കൊട്ടത്ത നീട്ട ൭. (Reverse blank).

—T. K. J.

DOCUMENT 4.

Revenues settled on Vira Kerala Varma of Pokam branch, on 17th Margali 856 M. E. Ruling king not mentioned.

ഇരാമചെയം.
നീട്ടകൊട്ടത്തവകൈ.

പൊകാത്താവാഴിയിൽ വീരകെരുളവർമ്മര°ക്ക അടുത്തുൺ തിരിച്ച നീട്ടകൊട്ടത്ത വകൈ.

വൃൗ൰ധന്ദ്വൃഷ്ഠ മാര്‍കഴി ൲ ൰ൈ൬.

(*Ola* No.) ൧൯൨൰൬൭.

നാഞ്ചിനാട്ട നല്ലൂര്‍ വില്ലികളപ്പുറവ വകൈയില്‍ നീക്കിനനെല്‍ കൊട്ടൈ ൨൯൫൰. മാണിക്കവാചകം പിള്ള പാട്ടം വകൈ വകയില്‍ മെല്‍വാരം അഞ്ചാലി നീക്കിന നെല്‍ കൊട്ടൈ ൰൫: പുത്തെരിയില്‍ കൊതച്ചെന്‍ മാകാ[ണി]യില്‍ അഞ്ചാലി മെല്‍വാരംനീക്കി നെല്‍ കൊട്ടൈ ൨൰. കട്ടക്കറൈ കണ്ടു ഉഴവു വകൈയില്‍ മെല്‍വാരം നീക്കിന നെല്‍ കൊട്ടൈ ൱൯൨൰. ടി വകൈയില്‍ പാട്ടം വകയില്‍ മെല്‍വാരം നീക്കിനനെല്‍ കൊട്ടൈ ൱൰൫. പൊന്നന്‍ വകൈ ഞാലം അവത്തക്കുടി ഉള്ളിട്ടപററില്‍ മെല്‍വാരം അഞ്ചാലി നീക്കിന നെല്‍ കൊട്ടൈ ൪൰. ആക നാഞ്ചിനാട്ട വകൈ നെല്‍ കൊട്ടൈ ൧൯൪൰.

മലനാട്ടവകൈ.

കൊട്ടക്കാട്ട കണ്ടു ഉഴവു വകൈ പാട്ടംവകൈയില്‍ നിന്‍റ നെല്‍ ൨൯ കലന്‍. കൊതനല്ലൂര്‍ ചന്തിരച്ചിലവു വകയില്‍ നെല്‍ ൧൯൩൰൩കലന്‍. കപ്പിയറൈ പന്‍ച്ചമെ പാട്ടം വകൈയില്‍ നെല്‍ ൱൰ കലന്‍. മത്തികൊട്ട കണ്ടുഉഴവു പാട്ടം വകൈയില്‍ നെല്‍ ൧൯൨൰കലന്‍. അരുമനൈ ഊട്ടപുള്ളി വകയില്‍ നെല്‍ ൨൯ കലന്‍. അരുമനൈ നമ്പിരാട്ടിയാര്‍ പണ്ടാരത്തില്‍ വകൈ അരുമനൈയും ഇഴക്കൊട്ടം മാത്തൂര്‍ കൊണത്തും വെള്ളാങ്കൊട്ട ഉള്ളിട്ട നിലം പാട്ടം വകയില്‍ നെന്‍ ൪൯൱[൧?] കലന്‍. കാമക്കറിപ്പു വക മങ്കൊട്ട നിലം പാട്ടം വകയില്‍ നെല്‍ ൧൯ കലന്‍. ആക മലനാട്ടവക നെല്‍ ൪൯൰കലന്‍. —T. K. J.

DOCUMENT 5.

Revenues settled on junior prince Rama Varma on 21st Avani 882 M. E. Ruling king not mentioned.

൲൱൰൨-ാമാണ്ടു ആവണിമാസം ൨൧ന്നു.

നയിനാര്‍ രാമവര്‍മ്മാ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിന്‍ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്കു ഇരണിയില്‍ ചിങ്ങനല്ലൂര്‍ വകക്കു നീട്ടകൊടുത്ത വക. ഇരണിയല്‍ ചിങ്ങനല്ലൂര്‍ കൊട്ടയും കൊയിക്കലും ടി യില്‍ തേവന്‍ഞ്ചെരിവകയും ടി യില്‍ കടയും പാകൊട്ട ഊട്ടപുരയും ആളൂരും ടി കൊട്ടയും ഇലഞ്ഞത്തു (പൊടിവു) ചെമ്പകരാമപുത്തൂരവും ആഴ്വാര്‍ കൊവില്‍ ശ്രീ കാര്യ്യകണക്കും കന്നത്തൂര്‍ കാപ്പുകാട്ടവകയും ചാന്നവകയും കെട്ടിറ ചിററിറ ഇരുര കീഴ് ഭൊഗവും കണ്ടുകാഴ്ച തലപ്പണവും വകയും തെങ്കിനാട്ട ചിറവാ(പൊടിവു) ഒള്ള ടിവക പണവകയും വിളപ്പില്‍ ചാലവകയും തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു ശ്രീപുരാകത്തു കൊവിക്കലും കഠിനാകുളത്തു മഹാദേവര്‍ കൊവില്‍ ശ്രീ കാര്യ്യകണക്കും മററും മലൈനാട്ടവകൈ നെല്‍വകൈ പണവകൈ എപ്പെപ്പെട്ടതും നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടില്‍ വലി കൊല്ലി കീഴാരമംഗലം ഉള്ളിട്ടപററില്‍ കോട്ടപണ്ണം വിശെഷാല്‍ കാണിക്കയും മൂപ്പുവകൈ ഉഴവു ഉടവും നീങ്കലാക ഉള്ള മേല്‍വാരവും അഞ്ചാലിയും പണവക പിറകുത്തകൈ കറത്തെണ്ടം വകയും നയിനാര്‍ മധുസൂതന വിഷ്ണുവര്‍ എം പെരുമാള്‍ കൊവിലില്‍ ശ്രീ കാര്യം ശ്രീകാര്യ്യകണക്കും വടശെരി തോവാള ഉള്‍പ്പെട്ട ചിറവായി ക്രുവവകൈ ആയവും (പൊടിവു) ഉഴവുപാട്ടവും വെങ്കുളം (പൊടിവു)കുളം ചെമ്പകരാമന്‍ പുത്തൂര്‍ (പൊടിവു) കമാരതെരിപുത്തൂര്‍ (പൊടിവു)ഇരു വക പണവക എപ്പെപ്പെട്ടതും തന്നി (പൊടിവു) നീങ്കലാക ൲൱൰൨-ാമാണ്ടു (പൊടിവു) പണവക എപ്പെപ്പെട്ടതും രാമവര്‍മ്മ ഉണ്ണി (പൊടിവു) കല്പിച്ചതെവാരം ചൊണാട്ടപള്ളി കെരിളന്‍ കെരിളന്‍ പെരുംപട നാളത്തു കൊടുത്ത നീട്ടു൧.

The above inaccurate copy was prepared some years ago by another transcriber. The original ola is missing. —T. K. J

DOCUMENT 6.

Revenues settled on junior prince Ravi Varma on 2nd Alpasi 810 M. E.

(ൻ)വൃൗര ൨൰ അൽപ്പചി ൨ വന്ദ.

(*Ola* No.) ൫൩൧൨

നയിനാരº ഇരവിവമ്മാർ ർ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക ഇരണിയ ചിങ്കനല്ലൂര' വകൈക്ക നീട്ടകൊട്ടത്ത പ്രകഷ പടിത്തിരം.

ഇരണിയ ചിങ്കനല്ലൂരº വകൈയായി ഒള്ള കൊട്ടയും കൊായിക്കലും തെവൻചെരി പാറ വകൈയും ടി കടയും പാകൊട്ടു ഊട്ടപ്പള്ളിയും കുന്നംപാട്ടു വകൈയും ആറ്റൂരും ടി കടയും തുറയും ഇലഞ്ഞിത്തുറയും ആഴ്വാരº കൊവിലിൽ ചീകാരിയവും നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടിൽ വലികൊല്ലി ഇഴാരº മങ്ങലം ഉള്ളിട്ട പറവും കൊട്ടപ്പണവും വിചെഴാൽ കാണിക്കയും നീങ്കലാക അഞ്ചാലി മെൽവാരവും ഉഴവു പാട്ടവും മററും നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടിൽ നെൽ വകൈ പണവകൈ എർ [പ്പെർ പ്പ]ട്ടതും മതിച്ചൂതന്ന വിണ്ണവെരº എൻ പെരുമാ(ൻ കൊ)വിലിൽ ചീകാരിയവും ചീകാരിയ കണക്കും ചിറവാഴº വക ക്രമ വടചെരി തെംവാള ആയവും തെങ്ങുനാട്ടിൽ വഴപ്പടിയെയൊള്ള നെൽവകൈ പണവകൈയും ചടിയൻ(?) കുളത്തു മകതെവരº കൊവിലിൽ കണക്കും മററും ഇളമുറെറയാക തന്നി നെട്ടം നീങ്കലാക ഒള്ള വത്തുവു എറംപ്പെരºപ്പട്ടതും എടുത്തു യാവിച്ചുകൊള്ളമാറം കൽപ്പിച്ചു തെവാരം പെരºപട കൊട്ടത്ത നീട്ടു ൧. (The rest blank.)

The year of the above ola is readily legible as 810. The scribe had written 9 first, but after scoring it off he wrote 810.

—T. K. Joseph.

CORRECT TEXT OF DOC., P. 332.

കൊല്ലം വൃൗര് മത മകര വിയാഴം വിതിന ഞായററിൽ എഴുതിയ പാ(ട്ട ഓലക്) [l.2]കരണമാവത.

തിരുത്തിക്കാട്ടിൽ രാമെൻ തെവി കൈയ്യാൽ മുന്നൂറെറാരുപത്തഞ്ച പ[l.3]ഴെ പണം. കൊണ്ടാരº മല്ലിച്ചെരി മാതവെൻ തെവെൻ. കൊണ്ടാരº കൊണ്ട പരിചാവത. ഇക്[l.4]കൊണ്ട പഴെപണം ൩൰൫ നും കാരിയം. വാരാട്ടിക്കൊണ്ണം തെചത്ത എലെച്ചെൻകാട[l.5]യെന്ന വളപ്പ പാട്ടമായി എഴുതിക്കൊട്ടത്താരº മാതവെൻ തെവെൻ. ഇമ്മാരºക്കമൈ ഇ(ം)[l.6] ൩൰൫ പഴെ പണവും കൊട്ടത്ത എലെച്ചെൻകാടയെന്ന വളപ്പ പാട്ടമായി എ(ഴ) [l.7]തിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാം രാമെൻ തെവി. ഇമ്മാരºക്കമൈ ഇപ്പാട്ടമാണ്ട പാട്ടം (തി)[l.8]രിച്ചു നിന്ന പാട്ടനെല്ലാൽ തരും അരºത്ത പലിചകിഴിച്ചു (വരവെണ്ടും ചെ) [Obv., l.9]ഴം ആണ്ടുവരെ ഇരിംപ നാരായത്താൽ നൂററ അഞ്ച നാരായം നെല്ല കൊട്ട [l.10]ത്തിരിപ്പു രാമെൻ തെവി. ആണ്ടുവരെ ൧൰൫ നാരായം നെല്ല വാങ്ങിക്[l.11] കൊറംവു മാതെവെൻ തെവെൻ. കരുമത്തിൽ ഇട്ടിരാമെൻ കൈയ്യെഴുത്ത.—T. K. Joseph.

ERRATA.

P. 290, col. 1. Camb. W. L. : read Camb. U.L.

P. 332, page title. PALLIVANAVAR OLA; put full stop after first word.

P. 332, end. Add: See p. 352 for correct text.

P. 333, col. 1, l. 3. firstly : first.

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